













DEBATES  
IN PARLIAMENT  
RESPECTING THE  
JENNERIAN DISCOVERY,  
INCLUDING  
THE LATE DEBATE  
ON THE FURTHER GRANT OF  
TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS  
TO  
DR. JENNER.  
TOGETHER WITH  
THE REPORT  
OF THE  
ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF LONDON,  
ON THE  
VACCINE INOCULATION.  
WITH  
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

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By CHARLES MURRAY.

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"Ne hominem occidito."

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1808.



Inoc  
Vacc.



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## INTRODUCTORY

### REMARKS.

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THE truly important Discovery of the Vaccine Inoculation, which has excited the wonder and admiration of the whole civilized world, having now for the third time, received the sanction of the British Legislature, it has been thought proper to give the public an opportunity of examining this decisive testimonial in favour of the practice.

A slight consideration will suggest to every one, that there cannot be a more interesting subject than that, which involves the health and even existence, not only of a large proportion of the present race of mankind, but of future generations to the end of time.

It would be anticipating the arguments in the succeeding pages, to enlarge upon the merits of the Jennerian practice; it may however be proper to observe, that the first debate occurred upon the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons respecting this discovery, and a motion made in June, 1802, to reward the author of it, and notwithstanding the weight of evidence adduced to that Committee, a mere accident occasioned the very inadequate grant to Dr. JENNER at that time.\*

The subsequent experience of four years, having more fully evinced the value and importance of this discovery, the Government, with a laudable anxiety for the public welfare, thought it worthy of their attention: and, with a view to ensure its more general circulation here, as well as to lay the foundation of a further reward to the author of it, Lord HENRY PETTY, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, moved a new enquiry, through the medium of the Royal College of Physicians, into the efficacy of the practice, and the progress which it had made.

\* See page 131 (Mr. FULLER).

The result of this reference to the Royal College was, after the most scrupulous investigation, such as might be expected from the previous testimony of almost every man of science during the preceding eight years.

In July last, the Report of the Royal College \* was laid before the House of Commons; and it was upon a motion made soon after by Mr. PERCEVAL, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, and grounded upon this Report, for granting a further sum to Dr. JENNER, that the most important discussion took place.

The event of this discussion must have been highly gratifying to the true friends of science, and of their country; and every person who has examined the subject will probably think, that the House of Commons, in granting an additional Twenty Thousand Pounds to Dr. JENNER, performed only an act of justice to the man, who has done more to relieve suffering humanity, than the united efforts of the most skilful and the most ingenious have accomplished in all the past ages of the world.

\* Appendix, No. I.

Thus far this nation has retrieved its character for liberality; but it **should** be remembered that the further remuneration of Dr. JENNER, was not the sole motive for submitting a new enquiry to the Royal College of Physicians. The ostensible object of Lord HENRY PETTY in proposing this measure, when in a high official station was, to ascertain the causes which had retarded the progress of Vaccination amongst us, while in other countries it had been universally received; and to adopt measures for encouraging the practice in Great Britain.

The Royal College, sensible of the important nature of their trust, have in their very able Report, fully adverted to these several points; and having borne the most ample testimony to the merit of the Jennerian discovery, resulting from the great mass of evidence in its favour, brought before them, the College strongly recommend the practice of Vaccination: and after justly exposing the “gross ignorance,” and “wilful misrepresentation” of those through whose artful endeavours the progress of this blessing has been retarded, particularly among the lower classes, they make the following important observation: “To inform and instruct the public mind may do much, and it

will probably be found that the progress of Vaccination in different parts of the United Kingdom, will be in proportion to that instruction. Were encouragement given to Vaccination, by offering it to the poorer classes without expense, there is little doubt but it would in time supersede the Inoculation of the Small-Pox, and thereby various sources of Variolous infection would be cut off; but till Vaccination becomes general, it will be impossible to prevent the constant recurrence of the natural Small-pox by means of those who are inoculated, *except it should appear proper to the Legislature to adopt, in its wisdom, some measure, by which those who still from terror or prejudice, prefer the Small-pox to the Vaccine disease, may, in thus consulting the gratification of their own feelings, be prevented from doing mischief to their neighbours.*" \*

In addition to these remarks, the Report concludes with expressing the opinion of the College, that Vaccination may be made the instrument of putting an end to the ravages at least, if not to the existence of the Small-pox.

\* See p. 142 and 146.

In taking this Report into consideration, the Legislature, with a dignified generosity, have, previously to their giving this invaluable instrument of safety any formal direction, granted a further reward to the discoverer. But it is humbly submitted that they have yet more momentous duties, arising out of this Report, to perform.

When the united voice of the most learned medical body in the kingdom, acting under the express command of His Majesty, and the House of Commons, fully sanctions the preventive of a mortal and highly contagious disease, advises the general encouragement of that preventive, and suggests the expediency of no longer permitting the unlimited and fatal intercourse with persons who force that disease upon others; it is earnestly to be hoped that the Senate will, "in their wisdom," manifest a just regard to the safety, as well as the interests of the community, by taking measures in conformity with these suggestions of the Royal College; especially as their interference upon this subject was hardly ever more necessary.

By the bills of mortality it appears, that no less than *One Thousand Two Hundred and Ninety-seven* Persons have fallen victims to the Small-pox, in



the Metropolis alone, in 1807!! after nearly ten years experience of the Vaccine preventive: and the dreadful weekly average is still continued; so that one day in London, probably exhibits as many devoted sacrifices to this distemper, as the whole Continent of Europe, owing to their universal adoption of Vaccination, could now furnish in a year.

Is this the result of any natural epidemic, or any state of atmosphere favourable to the progress of contagion? No. It must be attributed to the exertions of those who foster the prejudices of others, and force the disease upon numberless infants who are sent forth in every direction, the moving agents of destruction.

But there is one Institution the proceedings of which were adverted to in the annexed debate,\* which does more towards the continuance of this calamitous mortality, than the united practice of all the profession besides; I mean the Inoculation Hospital at Pancras; a charity originally founded in benevolence, and of essential benefit, in so far as respects the *reception* and *cure* of persons labouring under the natural and inoculated Small-pox: but

\* See the Speech of S. Boarnc, Esq. p. 78.

which now, by persisting in the practice of inoculating *Out-patients* with this contagious disease, is become an engine of the greatest mischief to the community.

It is stated upon good authority, that, at this hospital more than **FOUR THOUSAND OUT-PATIENTS** have been inoculated with the disease of Small-pox during the year 1807.

Can the rapid and alarming increase of deaths by this disorder then, any longer excite wonder, when it is recollected, that these patients come from different parts of the town, and are obliged to attend several times to be inspected while this pestilent disorder is full upon them? If the same mode of preventing the plague or yellow fever by inoculation existed, would the quarantiae laws, which make it death to leave without licence a ship under their restraint; or would the Legislature for a moment permit individuals thus to sport with the lives of their neighbours and others?

The facts however, and the dreadful consequences of this conduct, are indisputable; they cannot even be denied by the Managers of this repository of contagion.

It is worthy of remark, that among the Governors of this Institution, are some illustrious, and many noble and highly respectable persons, who are thus, without their knowledge, made parties as it were, to this plan of disseminating a most infectious malady. Should these remarks meet the eye of any one of those, or should they fall into the hands of any of our public-spirited legislators, let them, if they think the lives of the younger part of the community of any importance, cause a strict inquiry into the evil to be made; let them call for the books of this hospital to the bar of the House of Commons: and they will, by tracing the series of their baneful Inoculations into different districts of the metropolis find, that in those districts the mortality has more fatally prevailed:—and they will there discover more numerous objects, blind,\* miserable, and deformed.

But it will be said that, “if at the hospital three thousand in a year are inoculated, with Small-pox, numbers are also vaccinated.” This is admitted: but because a partial good is administered, is an evil of incalculable magnitude to be allowed? Better would it be for the community, to shut up the hospital, and

\* *Two-Thirds* of those admitted into the Asylum for the Indigent Blind, have lost their sight by the Small-pox.

refuse Vaccination there altogether, than thus daily to send forth this scourge of the human race hand in hand with the preventive: especially as some who go to be vaccinated, have been known by means of the contagion abounding in the variolated atmosphere of the hospital, to take the natural disease, and many have probably thus fallen victims to it.

It is also said, that the poor require this sort of Inoculation to protect their children, and it would be hard to deprive them of it. Here again the case of the yellow fever or the plague might be put. But the conduct of this very hospital some years since, is the best answer to that objection ; for it is remarkable that, in 1803, during the time when the late Dr. Woodville was physician, and in the early period of the practice of Vaccination, it appears by their Reports that, in six months ending in June, in that year (including the spring, when the poor generally resort more for inoculation) only TEN patients were inoculated for the Small-pox, and several hundreds were vaccinated in the same time. This induced the Managers in the same Report to announce to the Public, that the “ *Variolous Inoculation might be considered as generally superseded, by the substitution of the Vaccine Inoculation.*” Here was

almost a positive engagement to relinquish the baneful system of inoculating for the Small-pox; and the natural consequences were, that the poor readily received the boon of Vaccination, recommended by the officers of the hospital, and a vast source of infection being thus cut off, the deaths by Small-pox rapidly and greatly diminished, and in the succeeding year (1804) were reduced to 622.

What has since occasioned the change of system so fatal to the lives of numbers who might now have been thriving members of society, and to the constitutions of hundreds of others, whose existence may, in consequence of this disease, be a burthen to them, must be left to those who are acquainted with the *arcana* of this Institution, to explain. Certain it is, that since the lamented death of Dr. Woodville, the efforts of the hospital seem to have received renewed vigour; and it is a perfect anomaly, that in a Charity which professes to “remove the difficulties” of this infectious distemper, there should be found Officers to execute, and Governors who can sanction a practice, which multiplies contagion in every direction of this great city, and

destroys so large a proportion of the younger members of the community.\*

The same observations, with equal force apply to those persons who, not content with administering the Small-pox, and infecting the neighbourhood within a limited sphere, actually advertize to all the world, by painted boards and otherwise, the gratuitous offering of this bane of society. Ought this to be tolerated in a country which by its laws, holds out protection to the meanest of its subjects from oppression and injury by others?

In former times, an unregulated and indiscriminate Inoculation of the Small-pox was of very dangerous tendency, and has been strangely overlooked among those laws which relate to the public health :

\* It is a well-authenticated fact, that of those persons who take the Small-pox in the natural way, by infection, one in six dies; and in London perhaps a still larger proportion : and as at least 8000 out-patients have been inoculated at this hospital since 1803, *when they acknowledged the Vaccine to be a Preventive*, supposing upon the most moderate calculation, that only *three* others have been infected in consequence of each of these Inoculations, this will amount to 24,000, one-sixth of which is 4000 members of society who have been probably destroyed by these means within the last four years!! Will the above observations then be thought unjust, or the alarm here given, unfounded?



but now, when the unanimous opinion of the respectable part of the medical profession, has sanctioned, and warmly recommended a complete preventive; let the consciences of the managers of this Hospital, and others decide whether, if an infant dies in consequence of this mortal disease being forced upon it, when it has no power to resist, or if others die from the contagion emanating from that infant, this be not at least equal to what the law has denominated Manslaughter.

However, to those who are capable of appreciating these evils, and who possess the power of redressing them, these important considerations must be referred. It cannot be supposed that a Nation, which has for ages past, submitted to

Dr. Willan mentions an instance of *seventeen* children being infected from *one* inoculated infant, and *eight* of these DIED.

I cannot here help quoting the leading sentence in the Annual Reports of the Small-Pox Hospital, which shews *their* sentiments as to their own practices. “It is universally agreed, that, “of all distempers to which mankind is obnoxious, in these “temperate regions, none has proved so *afflicting* to the sufferer, so *alariming* to others, or demands more immediate “assistance, than the NATURAL SMALL-POX; and its contagion is *so much dreaded*, that families of all descriptions, but “more especially those of the INDUSTRIOUS POOR, are “thrown into the utmost anxiety and distress, when it invades them.”—See Yearly Report of Small-Pox and Inoculation Hospitals.

penal enactments, for preventing the spread of the Plague and contagious Fever\*, would object to receive Parliamentary restrictions on this homicidal practice of disseminating a distemper more fatal and loathsome than either.

After the noble and disinterested conduct of a very large proportion of the medical profession, it is not too much to expect that they would generally concur in legislative provisions on this subject, by which they would be relieved from the solicitations of prejudiced and mistaken parents, to inflict a dangerous disease upon their infants.

Indeed, in some of the principal towns in the kingdom, the Medical Practitioners have already united in forming resolutions not to inoculate this murderous distemper, and it would do the greatest credit to their enlightened brethren in the Metropolis, to associate for a similar purpose.

\* See 2 James I. c. 31, and the important Act of 45th Geo. III. d. c. 10, which applies to all contagious diseases existing in foreign parts. It is remarkable too, that while we are cavilling for the privileges of destroying each other by infection, the *Republican* Americans are in some of their States, under the severest restrictions, for preventing the Contagion of Small-Pox.



At the same time, whatever regulations may be thought proper for suppressing the inoculation of this pestilential disorder, now that we have a harmless and effectual preventive, it is desirable that every attempt to promote Vaccination, should be confined to measures of recommendation only; by adopting the means of giving it the facilities suggested in the Report of the Royal College.

This might be accomplished without difficulty, by an establishment under the patronage of the Government, through which stations for gratuitously vaccinating the children of those who should choose to apply, might be appointed in different parts of the Metropolis—by interesting the Clergy, and encouraging periodical Inoculations in Parishes throughout the Kingdom—by bestowing compensations on medical practitioners, according to the numbers vaccinated\*—by facilitating the distribution of genuine vaccine matter, with instructions for its use—and by the extensive diffusion of printed information of the good effects of the practice, among all ranks of society.

\* This plan is successfully practiced in the British Presidency of Madras, where 178,074 in one year, received the benefit of the Cow-pock, and of these a single professional gentleman vaccinated 28,198,

Measures like these have, since the Jennerian Discovery, for several years, been adopted in most parts of the Continent of Europe, in consequence of which they have there almost annihilated the Small-Pox, and are experiencing an immense and progressive increase in their population.

Let us then no longer behold with a criminal apathy, that waste of juvenile life, and that constant diminution of our national strength, which has been much too long inflicted upon us by means of variolous inoculation. \* But, acting upon the principle of *SALUS populi, suprema lex*, let us strangle the devouring Hydra, and encourage, by every justifiable effort the substitution of that preventive, which Providence, by a peculiar beneficence, has imparted through one of our own countrymen, to every Nation throughout the Globe.

\* See a calculation of this loss, Appendix, No. 3. p. 163.

DEBATE

IN THE

House of Commons

ON THE

*REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE*

ON

DR. JENNER'S PETITION

JUNE 2d. 1802.



# DEBATE, &c.

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JUNE 2d. 1802.

*The House in a Committee of Supply.*

Admiral BERKELEY.

“BEFORE I enter into that part of Dr. Jenner’s case, which is the particular object of my motion, I hope to be permitted to explain a little the conduct of the Committee, whose Report is now before you. I believe some of the most eminent characters in the medical line have given their testimony in favour of the utility and efficacy of this discovery; and if we have not examined all, it was for fear of burdening our Minutes, and because we were rather guided in our choice of evidence by a selection of many of those, whose opinions had been originally hostile to this system of inoculation, and whose researches therefore were more keen to detect its fallacy, or establish its truth.—In the investigation of a matter so important to mankind in general, it was not thought right by the Committee to confine their examination to the Petitioner’s evidence alone, as is usually the case, but to sift out any case which could make

against it. This conduct, which certainly may appear rather to bear hard upon the Petitioner, has proved a matter of fresh triumph to him: for although we descended to sift out information from every anonymous letter; though we raked the very kennels for information against this practice—all that we were enabled to get, is pointed out at full length in the Report: and such were the explanations on those very cases—such were the testimonies against that evidence—that if Dr. Jenner's discovery could receive additional lustre from this sort of inquiry, it certainly has done so. Upon the beneficial effects of this discovery, I hardly wish to trouble the Committee, as I am certain, if the Report, which contains the scientific opinion of the first medical men in this country, does not satisfy the House, the united opinion of all the world, the homage of Europe, which has been paid to the discoverer of this blessing, will have its due weight on the minds of his countrymen, who, though slow to believe, are ever willing when convinced, to reward with liberality. I cannot, however, but state some advantages which strike me in a great national point of view, which, in peace as well as in war, this discovery has brought forth. The labourer is not only enabled, during its progress, to perform his daily task without depriving his family of his earnings, or burdening his parish for support, but it is in proof also before us, that it has contributed to the exertions of our navy and army; as the mildness of its progress is such, that

those valuable individuals, our soldiers and sailors, have been able to do their duty with the disease upon them, in the midst of one of the most glorious but fatiguing campaigns that ever was undertaken. With respect to the immediate motion of this day, I certainly shall say something; as, although the Report states the actual loss Dr. Jenner has sustained, yet other particulars, which bear very hard upon him, are not inserted. It is not merely giving up his practice in the country, which has been proved to have been very lucrative; it is not the loss of that fortune, which the best authorities have stated he might have gained to a certainty, if he had kept it a secret: but it is the actual expenses which he daily incurs, by having promulgated this inestimable blessing, which I really think the hardest part of the case; for the very postage of the letters, both foreign and domestic, amounting frequently to ten, twenty, and twenty-five shillings a day, is really such a sum in itself, as no fortune would like to bear; an expense which cannot be repaid, and which his own generous and benevolent intentions were the cause of.

“As to the remuneration which ought to be given in this case, I hardly know how to appreciate it. I have precedents in my hand, which state various rewards that have been given to ingenious men, which I shall now read. [Paper read.] This last vote is only half of the sum constantly voted for the discovery of the longitude, which in



every point of view I certainly shall rejoice in, and gladly see the reward for it bestowed, although we circumnavigate the globe very well without it. But great as that discovery is, I really cannot look upon it in any view to be compared with this of Dr. Jenner's, which is unquestionably the greatest discovery for the preservation of the human species ever made. It is proved, that in these united kingdoms alone, 45,000 persons die annually of the small-pox. Are the exertions of that man who puts a stop to this mortality not to be rated higher than the discovery of the longitude, by which not a single life is saved? The number saved here is 40,000; but throughout the world what is it? Not a second is struck by the hand of time, but a victim is sacrificed at the altar of that most horrible of all disorders, the small-pox. I will put it in another point of view—suppose it was proposed in this House, to reward any man who saved the life of a fellow-creature with ten shillings: I should be laughed at for the smallness of the sum; but small as it is, I should be contented with it; for if the statement of 40,000 deaths be true, and this discovery prevents it, Dr. Jenner would be entitled to £20,000 per annum. I shall therefore move, that a sum not less than £10,000 be granted; but when I do this, I declare I do not think it sufficient. But although, as an admirer of Dr. Jenner, and perhaps a personal friend, I cannot forget that I am acting for the public—if the House should think it right to adopt any larger sum, I shall hold myself free to vote for it.”



Sir HENRY MILDMAI said, he did not think the sum proposed was by any means adequate. There was ample testimony from every quarter, of the benefit arising from the discovery of Dr. Jenner, who, as soon as he made it, did not keep it locked up in his own breast, but liberally imparted it to the world. Dr. Jenner might, if he had kept it a secret, have made £100,000 by it, as well as any smaller sum; but he had explained the whole to the world in the clearest manner, and given every information upon the subject that was in his power. He concluded by moving to insert the sum of £20,000 instead of £10,000.

This amendment having been put from the chair, Mr. BANKES said, there was a paramount duty vested in that House, as the guardians of the public purse, which it behoved them to attend to. As far as he had looked into precedents relative to the present case, they resolved themselves into two divisions: the one case was, where the discovery was made a matter of public notoriety, and the other where it remained a secret, and became the subject of a bargain between the public and the inventor, for the purpose of buying the secret. Of the latter there were many instances, and the House should remember how often it had been led away by the fashionable rumour of the day, or other circumstances, to bestow sums in this way, which they might now wish to be recalled. One of these instances was the grant of £5000 to Mrs. Stevens, for a solvent of the stone, which had been found to be inefficacious. There were also several

others; but he merely wished to put the House into a state of diffidence with respect to the subject now before them, though he believed there was as little danger of this discovery being discredited by subsequent practice as any that could be named. If, however, it was to be once contended, that every discovery of public utility ought to be remunerated by the House, the public purse would not be large enough to satisfy all the claimants. No persons were more fairly remunerated than those of the medical profession in proportion to their skill; and though this discovery was so far in the hands of the public, yet the carrying it into effect was coupled with medical skill, accuracy, and experience; and was there not reason to believe that those who wished to partake of the benefit of this discovery would go for it to the fountain-head? It was unfortunate that Dr. Jenner had imparted the secret to the public, though his conduct certainly displayed the greatest liberality. The inventors of the inoculation for the small-pox had made ample fortunes by it, though they had published it to the world, as all went to them to conduct the process. If the Hon. Gentlemen meant this as a question of justice, he did not know why they should ask for so restricted a sum; but he contended that Dr. Jenner had at present the means of remunerating himself. He acknowledged the utility and general benefit of this discovery, and the liberality of the conduct of Dr. Jenner; but he could not think himself justified in thus voting away the public money.

Mr. WINDHAM said, that much of what had been urged by his Hon. Friend made against the conclusions he had drawn. What his Hon. Friend had said about the guardians of the public purse, would not guide them on the present occasion, as it only went to this, that they should not grant a reward where it was not deserved. Here, however, they had to consider whether this discovery deserved reward, and if so, what was the sum that ought to be given. It had been stated, that a number of persons having made discoveries, rendered the secret of those discoveries the object of a bargain before hand. He could only say that was not the case here; a part of the merit of the Petitioner was, that he had not followed that line of conduct: in this case, the discovery had been imparted to the world, and its benefits proved, before a reward was solicited. If the inventor had kept the secret to himself, he was at a loss to say, what it would have been the duty of the House to give for the purchase of the secret. The general question in cases where a public reward was asked for an invention was, whether it was a useful and original invention. When his Hon. Friend said he was on the Committee, and talked of rewards impolitically granted, he thought his Hon. Friend was going to state, that there was no merit in the invention, or at least, that there were great doubts as to its efficacy—but on the contrary, his Hon. Friend had concurred in the general opinion of the utility of this discovery. Thus then the fact was admitted. The next consideration was, the extent of the utility, which was

in this case beyond estimation; it went to the complete eradication of that dreadful disorder the small-pox, as it stopped the propagation of it, and, in fact, did more by stopping the propagation than by saving individuals.—The next question was, whether this was an invention that paid itself; for if so, the inventor could have no claim for a public reward. Here, however, this was not the fact; and it was here that the practice of this discovery would be confined to the faculty; but it was not likely, as supposed by his Hon. Friend, to be confined to Dr. Jenner, as it was capable of being applied by every medical man. This was not the case with the Suttons, the inventors of the small-pox inoculation, with whom the secret remained a long time before it became generally known. It might be said there was still another consideration that might be alleged, that the inventor having made the discovery could not conceal it; but here, though it might have been difficult to conceal it entirely, yet it might have been so far concealed that it could not have been applied by others, and therefore there was a merit in Dr. Jenner in not concealing it. With all these claims, he had no hesitation in saying, that the discovery was one which was entitled to reward, and that a reward ought to be given, not only for the sake of this, but to induce persons to turn their minds towards discovery, and to encourage others, when they had made any useful discovery, not to conceal it, but to impart it as speedily as possible to the public. With respect to the sum proposed, he thought it

was the least that could be given for such a discovery, and he had not the smallest hesitation in supporting it.

Sir JAMES SINCLAIR ERSKINE followed on the same side. He said, he wished particularly to advert to one point which had not yet been touched upon; he meant the actual expense which Dr. Jenner had been put to in completing this discovery. This expense, he could state from the best authority, amounted at least to £6000; consequently if the House voted only £10,000, the real remuneration to Dr. Jenner would be only £4000, a sum neither adequate to the importance of the discovery, nor worthy of the dignity of the House to bestow. If therefore the larger sum of £20,000 were objected to, he should move for £15,000, that Dr. Jenner might at least receive £9000 free. In addition to this he could state, that Dr. Jenner, in order to render his discovery more extensively useful, had left a practice of £600 a year; and that since his arrival in London his income had not paid his house-rent. Any profits that he might have derived from his discovery, had he kept the nature of it concealed, were taken away, by his making it so plain that any one, even ladies, had been enabled to put it in practice with success. He therefore should certainly hope, that if the larger sum appeared too much, at least £15,000 would be granted.

Mr. M. A. TAYLOR thought that as Dr. Jenner's expenses had not been stated as a ground of the resolutions of the Committee, they did not at pre-

sent come regularly before the House. He therefore thought, that if these were to be inquired into, the Chairman ought to be instructed to report progress.

Mr. HOBHOUSE observed, that the expenses of Dr. Jenner might justly be adduced as an argument, as the loss he had sustained had been stated to the Committee, as appeared from the Appendix (of which he then read some extracts), and the Committee, in forming their Resolutions, had taken these also into consideration.

Mr. FULLER observed, that as the discoverer could expect no reward from the method of patents, which were not applicable in the present case, he thought him entitled to the larger sum.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that whatever sum of money the Committee might vote to Dr. Jenner as a future reward for his merit, there was one thing clear, and that was, that Dr. Jenner had already received the greatest reward that any individual could receive, the approbation, unanimous approbation, of the House of Commons; an approbation most richly deserved, since it was the result of the greatest, or one of the most important discoveries to human society that was made since the creation of man; and he doubted whether the House of Commons would ever be again called on to decide on a point of greater importance or utility than that which was now before the Committee. Two Reports were now upon the table of the House, and they were founded on



two Petitions from two individuals; who had each been most laudably and successfully employed in making discoveries for the preservation of human life. One saved human beings from the perils of shipwreck, the other from perils still greater. With regard to the merit of Dr. Jenner, it was needless to say much; there was no difference of opinion in the Committee on that subject. That he had made the important discovery for which the reward was asked, that the value of the discovery was without example, and beyond all calculation, were points not to be contested, for they were made out by convincing evidence; and that he had precluded himself from great emoluments by the generosity of his own conduct, was also most manifest. Wishing as he did to see such a person rewarded, yet knowing as he did that he had also a duty to discharge towards the public in voting away the public money, he must entreat the Committee to pause a little before it adopted the amendment now proposed. One effect of the discussion would be, to confirm the general use of the practice of this species of inoculation; another effect would be to establish, for ever, the merit of Dr. Jenner; at the same time it could not be denied, that while both the practice and the fame of its author became as extensive as possible, the vote of £10,000 by Parliament as a remuneration to Dr. Jenner, would have the effect of enlarging the general practice of that learned physician in the way of his profession; so that both the subject

itself, and the individual who discovered it, would be still better known to the world at large by this vote. He would ask whether any Member of the Committee doubted that Dr. Jenner's practice as a physician would not be extended by a vote of £10,000 to him by this Committee? Most undoubtedly that practice would be greatly extended by that vote, as well as by this discussion. If he were called upon to say what remuneration was to be given to Dr. Jenner, and that he was to be governed in the amount by the value of the discovery, he really did not know the sum, because the value of the discovery was above all calculation; but that was not the principle on which the Committee professed to proceed, or on which it was practicable to proceed; the advantages being boundless: whereas the remuneration must of necessity have its limits; and then the question would be, what, under all circumstances, was a reasonable remuneration to the author of this discovery?—The difference between £10,000 and £20,000 was not the standard by which the Committee judged of the merit of Dr. Jenner; but the question upon the sum was one which had a reference to the duty which the Committee had to perform to the public. He admitted, indeed, with the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Windham), that the House of Commons were not guardians merely of the public purse, but they were guardians also of the interests of the public, and certainly, as such, would do well to encourage inventions for the pre-



servation of the public health, which formed a very material part of the public interest, and by that consideration alone, he should be led to vote the larger sum proposed ; but he confessed that, under all circumstances, he did not think himself justified in recommending it to the Committee as a fit thing to vote this large sum. When he recollected that the value of the invention was beyond all calculation, and when he considered the extent of the merit of Dr. Jenner, he confessed it was painful to him to oppose any sum of money, however large it may be : but when he reflected that the Doctor must have other advantages besides this vote, that the practice of the Doctor would necessarily be very much extended, then he thought the lesser sum was that to which the Committee ought to assent. What had been said on the subject of the losses of Dr. Jenner, in the pursuit of this discovery, he conceived to be inaccurate, with reference to the Report of the Committee. He believed that losses had been confounded with expenses ; it appeared that the Doctor had been at considerable expenses in this pursuit, but there was no evidence of his having sustained any losses. In a word, if he did not think that Dr. Jenner would gain other great advantages from this vote, beside the vote itself, he should think himself called upon to vote for the larger sum ; but being entirely convinced that he would have many other advantages, and to a great extent, he found himself bound to declare his opinion in favour of the lesser sum. In saying this,

he was rather pursuing the sense he had of his public duty, than his own feelings; were he to give way to his feelings, he might assent to any sum, but that was not the course to be followed by men in the discharge of their public duty. He had, however, the satisfaction to reflect, that this discussion had given to Dr. Jenner a reward that would last for ever, and also that the comfort of his family would be amply provided for in his extended practice, by means of the sanction of that House.

Mr. GREY said, that from the tenour of the Right Hon. Gentleman's speech, from his owning that this discovery conferred so many benefits on mankind, he hoped he would have concluded by concurring with the Amendment. The importance of the discovery no one could doubt; some difficulty might indeed be made with regard to the extent of the remuneration. We should not in this be too much guided by a view to the expenses incurred, lest we should run the risk of rather giving an indemnification than a reward. He had heard no good reason given for limiting the sum to £10,000. He conceived there was no fear of its becoming a dangerous precedent, as such discoveries were not made every day. The Right Hon. Gentleman had said, that Dr. Jenner would find a reward in his own conscious benevolence. This, indeed, might afford much gratification to him; but it ill became the House to diminish their reward, because his merit was of such a nature as to yield gratification to benevolent feelings. As

to the vote of the House increasing his practice, he saw no reason to expect such a consequence, when every thing attending the vaccine inoculation had been rendered so easy by Dr. Jenner's generous communications. All these circumstances considered, he hoped the House would vote for £20,000, or at least £15,000.

*Admiral* BERKELEY said that he had fixed upon the sum of £10,000, not from any idea of its being adequate; and therefore as a larger sum had been moved for, he should consider himself as quite at liberty to vote for it.

*Mr.* WILBERFORCE stated that Dr. Jenner had been engaged in completing this discovery upwards of twenty years; that to the prosecution of it he had devoted that time and those talents which he might have turned to greater emolument by general practice. He was not to be considered as an adventurer who might hope by this discovery to push himself into practice. He had attained celebrity in his profession, and an extensive practice, which he had sacrificed to completing this discovery. There was not a likelihood of his regaining what in this way he had lost, as many others had from his communications acquired such a complete knowledge of the vaccine inoculation as to be employed with equal confidence. Nor was it likely that he would acquire a general practice, as many would be led to suppose that by his exclusive attention to vaccine inoculation he had become less skilful in other parts of medicine. In

every view he thought the larger sum ought to be voted.

*Mr. COURTENAY* said, it appeared that 40,000 persons were annually preserved to the state by Dr. Jenner's discovery; now in former times every individual was reckoned worth 40s. a year to the revenue: if therefore we suppose the value of human beings to keep pace with other articles, we must now suppose the value of each to be at least £5 a year. By this computation Dr. Jenner brought into the Exchequer £200,000 annually, and it was hard if out of that sum we did not allow him £20,000.

The question was then put, that the words "Ten thousand Pounds" do stand part of the resolution; when the Committee divided,

Ayes - - - - 59

Noes - - - - 56

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Majority 3

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# DEBATE

IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

(*Wednesday, July 2, 1806*),

ON

A MOTION,

MADE BY

*THE RIGHT HON. LORD HENRY PETTY,*

IN ORDER TO REMOVE

EXISTING PREJUDICES AND DOUBTS

RELATIVE TO

VACCINATION.



# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*JULY 2, 1806.*

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LORD HENRY PETTY (Chancellor of the Exchequer,) addressed the House as follows:—"I rise, Sir, in pursuance of the notice I gave to the House a few days ago, to call your attention to a subject of general importance. It is indeed a subject which is totally unconnected with all party principles. It, however, concerns the welfare, health, and existence of a large portion of his Majesty's subjects, and therefore, is well deserving of the consideration and support of Parliament. I mean, Sir, that very remarkable discovery, and the practice which has followed it, of Inoculation of the Cow-pox, commonly called Vaccine Inoculation, as a substitute for the loathsome Small-pox, an evil which has spread a dreadful desolation throughout the whole world. In submitting this subject to your notice, I shall not enter minutely into an investigation, or inquiry, as to the gradual progress which the practice of this inoculation has made among the several nations of Europe. I shall briefly mention it to be the dis-



covery of an eminent and most celebrated physician, who for thirty years has devoted his whole mind and attention to promote its salutary effects amongst mankind. The knowledge of this important subject first commenced in the year 1777. So early did it strike Dr. JENNER, a name which has become well known amongst all the nations in Europe, and indeed throughout the whole world. That gentleman, by devoting the whole of his time, attention, and labours, to this subject, has, by a slow and gradual progress, brought the practice of his valuable discovery into very great reputation. It was, however, in the year 1796 when he first thought of extending its benefits by inoculation. To that illustrious character, therefore, we are entitled to ascribe our being likely to get rid of the Small-pox, one of the most dangerous calamities that mankind has ever been afflicted with. In the year 1798 Dr. Jenner having ascertained its advantages by sufficient experiments, it was extended, and soon after submitted, to the consideration of this House, and under its sanction, and chiefly owing to its patronage, it was established throughout England. In the year 1799 this discovery made its way over the whole continent of America, and even amongst the Indians, it has been practised with a degree of success fully answering the most sanguine expectations of him who at first suggested it. In 1800 it was adopted upon the Continent, and, under the auspices of our commander in

chief, it extended to the shores of the Mediterranean. Afterwards, from its favourable reception in the kingdom of Naples, and most of the Italian States, it gradually made its progress northwards. In Russia, Prussia, and Denmark, it was eagerly embraced; but I could wish to call the attention of the House in a particular manner to the success which it has met with in the dominions of the House of Austria. In the year preceding its introduction into Vienna, the average amount of deaths, occasioned by the Small-pox, was 835, but in 1799 the Vaccine Inoculation was introduced, and in 1802 the number of deaths, arising from that fatal malady, was reduced to 61. In 1803 it was further reduced to 27, and in 1804 the actual number who died of the Small-pox, amounted to two only, and these were persons from the country. (A loud cry of hear! hear!) Upon a fair calculation therefore, it might reasonably be computed, that the whole annual saving of the lives of persons from that disorder, amounts on an average to 833, in one capital, by the beneficial practice of Vaccine Inoculation. (A loud cry of hear! hear!) After having stated this fact, which makes the deepest impression upon my mind, I think I have submitted one of the strongest motives which have induced me to adopt some measure to promote its progress in our own country. While the inhabitants of all Europe and America are at this moment reaping the beneficial consequences of such a wonderful discovery:—While in the East Indies alone, there

have been upwards of 800,000 persons inoculated in the space of a single year:—And whilst in the empire of China, too, its introduction has become general, and it has been regularly successful in its effects in every part of the globe:—I am sorry, extremely hurt, indeed, to observe, that in this country alone, in which the discovery has originated, the salutary practice of Vaccine Inoculation has been of late years undergoing a retrograde movement. What then has been the real cause of this melancholy circumstance? Objections certainly have been started, and the promulgation of them in the manner in which they have been circulated throughout the kingdom, has no doubt had the effect of arresting very considerably the progress of Vaccination, and of spreading abroad the original malady of Small-pox, thereby increasing the number of its victims. I observe, in the city of London, in the year 1802, the average number of deaths, for six years, was 1811, but the effects of the Vaccine Inoculation, at first, went considerably to reduce that number, and in 1804 it was only 629, being about one-third of the average number of individuals who had perished by the Small-pox, for six years preceding the introduction of Vaccination. (A loud cry of hear!) In consequence of the numerous prejudices which have been excited, and the opinions that have been circulated, adverse to Vaccination, the original practice of inoculating for the Small-pox has been gradually renewed, and its progress extended; and

the number of deaths which have happened during the last year has amounted to no less than 1680, which is bringing back nearly that average degree of depopulation which had been experienced previous to the introduction of the Vaccine discovery. (A loud cry of hear!)—Under these alarming circumstances, Sir, I conceived, that in every point of view, this measure claimed the most serious attention of the Legislature, and therefore, I am now about to submit some mode of procedure concerning it. I have not the smallest inclination to propose any compulsory measures, being well convinced that whatever may be our view of any subject of science, this House ought to pause very long indeed, before they prescribe any law to individuals upon matters which relate to their own health, and even on which the very existence of their children may depend. These indeed, are topics upon which private individuals in society are to be allowed to be the most competent judges; but if I am not to have recourse to compulsory measures, I feel that it is at least a duty incumbent upon me, in the situation in which I stand at this time, to submit a motion to this House, to which, if they agree, their procedure will tend to enlighten the public, by informing them in a formal and regular manner, of what appears to us to be the truth. It will give to this valuable discovery the advantage of having all the weight of promulgation which the high character and popularity of Parliament is capable of. With that view, I shall

think it proper to submit a plan by which this House shall become possessed of a mass of evidence as to the real merits of this discovery; which will prove highly satisfactory both to ourselves and to the public at large. This measure I propose to effect by the House voting an address to his Majesty, praying ‘ that his Royal College of Physicians shall be requested to enquire into the progress of Vaccine Inoculation, and to assign the causes of its success having been retarded throughout the united kingdom, in order that their report may be made to this House of Parliament, and that we may take the most proper means of publishing it to the nation at large.’ If the result of such proposed inquiry turn out (as I am strongly disposed to think it will) a corroboration of the beneficial effects which other nations seem convinced are derived from Vaccine Inoculation, it will satisfy the people of this country of the many evils which arise from the rapid progress of the other fatal species of disorder. It will prove to them that the bad effects which have been ascribed to Vaccination have been dreadfully exaggerated; and that the temporary duration of its benefits, in a few cases, has been owing to some kind of mismanagement. If such shall be the result of the proposed inquiry, I have no hesitation in saying that it ought afterwards to be for this House to consider whether or not any reward has been bestowed upon the original discoverer of Vaccine Inoculation, which is in any degree adequate to



its real importance, and as such consistent with the general character and liberality of this country. This, however, is a subject for after consideration; but in the mean time the House will agree with me as to the propriety of collecting opinions relative to the general effects of this mode of inoculation, and to show to the world that if there be any truth as to its benefits, we shall not be the first to reject them; but that, on the contrary, we shall use every means to encourage its progress, and this in a manner consistent with the character and dignity of our nation.—(A cry of hear! hear! resounded at every part of the House.)

The **SPEAKER** then read the motion from the chair:—"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying that he will be graciously pleased to direct his Royal College of Physicians to enquire into the state of the Vaccine Inoculation in the united kingdom, and to report their opinion as to the progress which it has made, and the causes which have retarded its general adoption."

**Dr. MATHEWS**,—"Sir, it is with much satisfaction that I rise to second the motion which the Noble Lord has just now made, and to take this opportunity of stating my own sentiments upon this invaluable discovery. From the time of its first publication to the world, I have paid it the utmost attention, and have carefully watched its progress. I must confess that, at first, although I was perfectly disposed to admit the veracity of the cele-

brated discoverer himself, yet I received the accounts of its success with a certain degree of caution. I then thought that it might be attended with considerable hazard to society were we to give up practising a mode, the good effects of which had been already fully experienced, in order to adopt one which might be uncertain, precarious, and dangerous in its consequences. Under these impressions, Sir, I attended with assiduity to the progress of this new practice as it advanced, and the result has been, that my mind has now received the fullest conviction of the vast superiority of the Vaccine Inoculation over that of the Small-pox Inoculation. It may be right that I should, on an occasion like the present, submit to your notice a few of the most striking circumstances which have occurred to me as to the effects of the original mode of Inoculation for the Small-pox. In the first place, in many cases, where the disorder takes a bad turn, not only will deformities arise upon the human countenance, but death itself, in its most awful form, often ensues. In the second place, however beneficial this original mode of prevention may be to individuals, it is well known that it forms a magazine of the most dreadful evils, and that contagion, with all its baneful effects, usually follows. A reference to the bills of mortality will prove this assertion, and show to demonstration, that the number of deaths have been greatly increased since the first discovery of the Small-pox Inoculation. In the



third place, my great objection to conveying the variolous matter into the human constitution is, that it has been the means of introducing Scrophula, which is a more dangerous and pernicious disorder than even the natural Small-pox itself; insomuch, as that the one makes a speedy, and the other, a slow progress, towards death. The numerous cases which have come under my own observation, since the introduction of the Vaccine Inoculation, have effectually persuaded me of its advantageous effects, notwithstanding the variety of opinions it has excited, and the several instances which have been adduced to demonstrate its failure. These, instances, Sir, I have found upon minute investigation, have been exceedingly equivocal, and in several cases the inoculation has turned out not to have been properly performed. Where a few instances have been produced to prove that the Small-pox had ensued even after Vaccination, they by no means tend to convince me of the inefficacy of the discovery; for even similar cases are known to have occurred in the other species of inoculation. None of the instances, which have hitherto been brought forward by those who professed themselves to be inimical to this valuable and important discovery have had the smallest effect in creating doubts in my mind as to its ultimate success. I have no hesitation therefore in saying at this moment that I am fully convinced the result of further experience will correspond completely with my most sanguine expectations.

I cannot doubt, Sir, that the country in a short time will hasten to testify further marks of its gratitude for the inestimable benefits it has received from the assiduous exertions of the respectable and learned doctor to whom this important discovery is owing. His name, I doubt not, will be enrolled by posterity amongst those

‘*Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,  
Atque sui memores alios fecere merendi.*’

(ÆN. vi. l. 900.)

“Such are the grounds upon which I rose to second this motion of the Noble Lord, and I have only to express my hope that the House of Commons will add some other solid proofs of its gratitude, and thereby shew the disposition in Parliament to encourage all manner of discoveries which tend materially to the general benefit of mankind.” (A general cry of hear! hear!)

Mr. WILBERFORCE.—“It gives me, Sir, the greatest pleasure to find that the Noble Lord opposite me has now taken up this question. I have long entertained an anxious desire that such an important subject should be brought into the House, through the medium of some individual in a high and powerful situation. Although that Noble Lord has fulfilled my hopes and expectations in this respect, yet, Sir, I am greatly disposed to doubt, whether the plan he has just now suggested is so likely to have the desired effect as some others that might be submitted to

the consideration of the House. It may be remembered, that some time ago, a certificate had been made out and signed by a most respectable body of medical gentlemen, as to the propriety and efficacy of Vaccine Inoculation. I believe that every medical name, of any celebrity, in the city of London and its environs, was attached to that certificate, and, therefore, so far as the effect of such a mode of procedure, as relates to medical men, could go, it has already been tried. Undoubtedly there have been various rumours circulated, and arguments raised against the practice of inoculation for the Cow-pox, and every one has heard of some individual instances of failure, and it has unfortunately happened, that many of these failures have originated through the imprudent management even of its best friends. Many persons have taken upon them to give this disorder, without any study, relying upon the bare description they had received of it, believing this to be sufficient to enable any individual to pronounce upon its real character, and to practise it with success and the utmost safety. This, I believe, has been carried too far, and consequently there have been instances in which persons have been inoculated with the vaccine matter, who have had no true disease; hence some have had the natural, and others the inoculated Small-pox, at some distance of time after such imperfect operation. To this kind of mismanagement I am inclined to attribute the foundation of the various pub-

lications which have tended to retard the progress of this valuable and important discovery. What I conceive as a preferable, and more practicable course of procedure, in regard to the object which the Noble Lord has in view, would be, that a Committee of the House of Commons, and another of the House of Lords, should be appointed to enquire into the actual state of the disease, and to receive evidence as to its progress and effects. When the last measure was adopted by the House of Commons, upon this same subject, various cases were brought forward by persons who said that the practice of inoculation amounted to a failure; such cases were heard by the Committee with the greatest impartiality, yet we all know how favourable their ultimate report to the House was as to its success. Upon these grounds I cannot help thinking that another Report of a similar nature with the former, being presented to the House, would be attended with much greater advantages than merely a Report or Certificate, from the College of Physicians, and would be much more congenial to the inclinations and feelings of the people of this country. The one might be considered as being biassed by prejudice, but the other universally, as acting with the greatest impartiality for the general good of the nation. Although I agree with the Noble Lord, that compulsory measures, in such cases, ought carefully to be avoided, if possible: at the same time I think there is another method which may be

adopted with absolute justice and propriety. Although we cannot force people to inoculate with the vaccine matter, in preference to that of the Small-pox, yet we may impose certain rules, or restrictions, on those who do put the latter practice into execution upon their children. This would contribute greatly to secure the public against the effects of contagion, in the same manner as is done in the case of the plague. The laws of quarantine have continued long to be enforced, and have been found to be attended with infinite advantage. These may be deemed a constraint upon the public, but having proved so beneficial, why not impose the same controul over mankind in other cases where communications with the diseased may be attended with dangerous consequences? Now we know, Sir, that the Small-pox has been found by long and fatal experience, to be nearly a kind of plague, so that great advantage would arise to society were we to prohibit persons who do not vaccinate their children, from allowing them, when labouring under the Small-pox, to go out amongst others who have hitherto escaped its dreadful consequences. This is a sort of justice, which I conceive Parliament owes to the country, and a benefit, which would, by our example being followed, even extend itself to other countries. The present permission of variolated patients going abroad amongst society is not productive of any advantages, either to the children themselves, or their parents. If we found that the



parents were not willing to confine their children in their own houses, would there not be an evident propriety in Government having places appointed for that express purpose? I only threw out these hints, as I think it is a thing which gentlemen ought to hold in their minds. This measure of regulation could by no possible construction be reckoned compulsory upon the feelings of the people, or in any degree injurious to the liberty of society. It is merely an act of security, rendered necessary in order to guard the lives of some of our fellow-creatures against infection, and is both a salutary and mild restriction. It is not contrary to measures which Parliament have it in their power to adopt, in regard to other cases of contagious disorders. I remember perfectly well, that soon after the discovery of Vaccine Inoculation, it was said that many more people had died of the Small-pox than before; this, however, was found to be entirely owing to the patients going into the open air, and imparting the infection to others at a time when they were most susceptible of it. I am not at all surprised that the practice of Vaccine Inoculation has made so very little progress in this, the very country where it originated, as it is owing to one of those curious circumstances which arise from the state and principles of human nature that new discoveries are viewed with greater caution and surprise in those places where they are first made, than in the countries where they are afterwards disseminated. While in other countries great labour and

pains are bestowed in cultivating and improving a discovery : and in putting it into practice for the benefit of the human race, it is often found that the reputation of its original success dies gradually away in the very country which gave it birth. Now, Sir, what is the best mode of getting the better of that extraordinary antipathy which arises in the human mind upon the subject of discoveries or innovations? Is it not to infuse information into the minds of the people by every possible means? To hold out to their view proofs of its superior efficacy in foreign countries, and to demonstrate clearly the advantages with which it might naturally be attended in our own? and to remove those prejudices which have arisen from the vague and unfounded reports of self-interested individuals? These, surely, are the means which, if adopted, would tend to disseminate the happy consequences of this useful and wonderful discovery throughout the inhabitants of our own country, and still farther to extend its advantages to the most distant quarters of the globe. On the whole, Sir, I cannot help wishing, that the Noble Lord would consider whether, or not, it would be practicable to appoint such a Committee to report to the House the result of their investigations against next Session of Parliament, and also to ascertain whether, or not, such restrictions as those which I have now suggested, would not be attended with most beneficial consequences to the health, welfare, and happiness of society. The plan of having this



Committee to procure the evidence adduced before themselves, I am convinced would be much better relished by the country than the mode proposed by the present motion of leaving that Committee to form this judgment upon the previous Report of the College of Physicians. The same species of evidence would still be open to them, and they would no doubt be inclined to view the whole through an impartial medium; their minds being previously quite unbiassed upon the subject, would only be susceptible of changes by the evidence before them."

MR. SECRETARY WINDHAM.—“ The only point, Sir, in which it appears to me, that we differ in opinion, as to the subject under our consideration, is, as to the mode that ought to be pursued in effecting the object we have in view. Upon this point I must say, that I am rather inclined to give the preference to the plan which has been suggested by my Noble Friend, who brought forward this motion. The proposition which has been just now made by the Hon. Gentleman on the opposite side, seems to be merely a commutation of that which has been suggested by the Noble Lord near me. The whole difference turns upon the question of substituting the Report of a Committee of this House for that of the College of Physicians. The Hon. Member seems to think, that an investigation and report, proceeding from a Committee, would have more weight and authority with the public, than a report issuing

from a body of Physicians. In this particular, however, I must beg leave to differ from him, as I think a Committee of this House would be less competent to form a correct and sound judgment upon the subject, than medical men would be. Their incompetency would be felt and considered by the public, and consequently an opinion from them, as to the good or bad effects of the Vaccine Inoculation would have much less weight on their minds. It would not tend to allay their suspicions, nor administer a guidance for their future conduct. Far different, however, would be the effect of a Report proceeding from that learned and respectable body, the Royal College of Physicians, most formally called upon by Parliament. By the Noble Lord's plan, I think the authority and influence of Parliament would come in just in the way in which it ought to come. It will add a superior degree of solemnity to our sanction of what we deem a most useful and highly beneficial discovery. In the one case the House would be grounding their procedure upon the opinion of a Committee, founded perhaps upon fallacious principles, while in the other they will proceed upon the surest grounds, upon the sentiments and opinions of men of experience, in a learned profession, which enables them to judge with superior accuracy and acuteness upon subjects connected with that profession. To Committees of this House the common adage might be applied, '*Né sutor ultra crepidam*;' for it is a well-known fact, that

a man is always a more competent judge of matters relating to his own profession, than another who is a perfect stranger to such subjects. On the whole, I think, that the plan of my noble Friend would have infinitely the best chance of overcoming the public prejudices, and of giving validity to the opinions of those best able to judge of the real merits of this valuable discovery made by Dr. Jenner. Perhaps, indeed, these prejudices may be found already too deeply rooted in the minds of some few individuals to be extirpated by the combined efforts both of the College of Physicians and of Parliament, if we were to judge from the failure of our former sanction, in accomplishing the utmost of our wishes. This, however, I sincerely trust will not be the case, as I am one of those who, convinced of its superior efficacy by its success in foreign countries, have only to deplore that it has not met with better encouragement in our own. The Hon. Gentleman who spoke last recommends a certain species of compulsion, and indeed I think it is such a one as the legislature of any country may, in certain cases, be well entitled to adopt, in order to prevent contagious maladies from spreading among society. Such compulsory measures ought, however, not to be adopted except in cases of the most urgent necessity. If it really can be shewn that compulsory measures are requisite upon the present occasion, then is Parliament blameable for not having adopted them sooner. It is now common to be scandalized at see-

ing the wretched and miserable objects, who are afflicted with this baneful disorder, carried about in the public streets, in the arms of their anxious and afflicted parents, mingling with society, as if no such infectious disease existed. I know well, however, that the moment any kind of compulsion is adopted upon subjects of this sort, that moment there is a greater degree of hatred excited in the public mind against what may be judiciously prescribed; and I therefore should be exceedingly unwilling to resort to such a measure. The mild, solemn, and considerate recommendation of Vaccination by Parliament being what they judge the most prudent plan to be pursued, will no doubt go infinitely further than any constraint whatever. Had the question this day related solely to the quantum of reward which Parliament ought to bestow upon the discoverer of this most efficacious and beneficial practice, I should not have objected to the appointment of a Committee in the manner the Hon. Member proposes, namely, for the purpose of leaving the business entirely to their discretion. That subject, however, will be more fit for future consideration, when this previous point is properly ascertained to the satisfaction of the public. Then will be the time to remunerate and encourage that meritorious individual to whom society in general owes the utmost gratitude and favour, and who, I cannot help thinking, has not yet been sufficiently rewarded for the expence and trouble this discovery has cost him. (A loud

cry of hear! hear! from all parts of the House.) Such are the grounds upon which I think it my duty to support the Noble Lord in the motion he has made, and the reasons which would make me exceedingly unwilling to resort to compulsory measures under any circumstances, except those of the most urgent and dangerous necessity." (A cry of hear!)

Mr. WILBERFORCE in explanation.—"I should be sorry to be in any degree misunderstood as to what I have said in regard to compulsion. The Right Hon. Gentleman seems to suppose, I meant to suggest the propriety of adopting compulsory measures in regard to the practice of the Vaccine Inoculation. So far from meaning that kind of constraint, I think I expressed myself so as to imply that it would be absolutely wrong. This is my most deliberate opinion. All that I meant by talking of compulsion was, that some particular mode ought to be prescribed for enforcing certain regulations and restrictions upon those individuals, who might in a voluntary manner submit to Small-pox Inoculation, such regulations being of a kind neither to be injurious nor to bear hard upon them in any respect whatever. It was alone with the intention of providing for the convenience of such afflicted individual, who, from their situation in life, or other circumstances, might not be enabled to provide for themselves proper accommodation. These, Sir, were my sentiments; and I still think that some such provision is neces-

sary, in order to afford Small-pox Inoculation (a most valuable discovery) the benefit of an impartial, a prudent, and an effectual trial. Such a measure would be attended with this important advantage too, that the public themselves would more easily become witnesses of the greater efficacy of the Vaccine Inoculation, and consequently of its rapid and successful progress throughout the United Kingdom."

Mr. BANKS.—"Sir, it appears to me that the mode proposed by the Noble Lord is exceedingly eligible at this late period of the session, in so far as he wishes to combine the science of a learned body with the judgment and deliberation of a Committee of the House of Commons, and that nothing should be determined upon until both their reports have been conjoined and submitted to the consideration of the House. If this motion had been made, however, at an earlier period of the Session, I cannot help thinking that, in a matter of this sort (which is a matter of fact, and not a question of science), there could not be a better mode of procedure than that which has been suggested by my Hon. Friend near me. Even those the best acquainted with the matter under discussion cannot pretend to give an accurate description of the real sources from which the existing prejudices have arisen, or the causes from which its want of cultivation and encouragement have originated. The subject in which the public are most materially interested,



and the fact which remains to be more clearly ascertained is, whether this discovery which has been made by Dr. Jenner is, in the mode in which it is now practised, of such a sort as to afford us a reasonable security against the ravages of that more dreadful disorder which it is intended to prevent. This, Sir, appears to me to be a subject of consideration so distinct from that of a scientific nature, that it is one which any number of reasonable and thinking men, affording their time to it, are as capable of laying distinctly and clearly before the public, as the most learned body that ever existed could do. As my noble Friend, however, does not, by his proposed plan, preclude a combination of all the advantages resulting from science and learning, and experience, I cannot object to it, although I may think it capable of some improvement. From the understanding I have of the matter, I think, that the peculiar disadvantages under which this valuable discovery has laboured in this country, and the causes which have retarded its progress here more than in other parts of Europe, have been in a great measure owing to the manner in which the operation of introducing the Vaccine matter has been performed. While, in other countries, the practice has been solely confined to medical persons, it has been rendered here so exceedingly plain to every understanding, that all persons have been enabled to put it into execution. In this country it has been found that scarcely any one of the profession is called to prac-



tise it. To this indiscriminate use, therefore, I am inclined to attribute its failure of success in those cases which have been urged by its enemies as arguments against its introduction. In those countries where it has been entirely confined to medical persons, it has been ascertained, that no such exceptions to its success have ever been started; for as I have been informed no such cases of failure have ever happened amongst them. The improvement, or rather addition, which I am inclined to suggest to the Noble Lord's motion, is the junction of another learned body, who have been overlooked on this occasion, but who it would be exceedingly proper, should also be requested to join in this enquiry. The learned body to which I allude, Sir, is that of the Royal College of Surgeons. If we are to enter into a minute investigation at all, and endeavour to receive information from men of science as a general rule for our conduct, why ought we not to make that enquiry and research as general and extensive as possible? A subject of this kind does not require us to confine our investigation to Physicians alone. Upon that footing, Sir, I shall take the liberty of suggesting to the Noble Lord, that a provision should be inserted for the purpose of referring the question as to the Vaccine Inoculation to the Royal College of Surgeons also. (A partial cry of hear!)—I cannot help stating, that I still persevere in the opinion I formerly entertained, that if this discovery be of that utility and advan-

tage, which I trust and hope it will prove to be, it will find its way against all opposition, and that the learned Doctor, who has been the discoverer of this great and important secret to mankind, cannot in such a country as this, fail of obtaining his due reward, by the immense extension of his medical practice. Add to this, that the learned Doctor, who has made this valuable and beneficial discovery, certainly must also gain a considerable additional advantage, in consequence of this inquiry now about to be set on foot, in order to quiet the fears, and strengthen the conviction of the people, which leads me to think that Dr. Jenner will find himself well remunerated without any thing further from Parliament. As to the question of compulsion which has been touched upon in the course of this discussion, I can hardly think that my Hon. Friend near me (Mr. Wilberforce), who has shewn himself so well acquainted with the general principles of liberty, upon all occasions, meant to recommend any compulsory measures, that would infringe upon that freedom, which even allows prejudice to work its way. You may be assured, Sir, that there is a sense in the people of England, which will not long oppose truth; that even without the aid of Parliament, without enquiries through the means of Committees, or investigations and reports made out by a College of Physicians, prejudice will at last disappear, and truth will ultimately prevail.—As the mode now proposed, however, will certain-

ly tend either to expedite on the one hand a conviction of that truth which it is so desirable to assert, or, on the other, to expose the fallacy of those arguments which have been adduced in favour of the discovery, without any undue means being used to support the one, or the other, I shall certainly vote for the motion which has been made by the Noble Lord."

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH.—“ I do not rise, Sir, for the purpose of discussing the real merits, as to the effect of this wonderful discovery, relying that we shall in the end find, that it will turn out equal to our most sanguine expectations, and consequently well worthy the further liberality of Parliament. (Cry of hear! hear!) I merely wish to make a few observations upon a subject which is of such vast importance to the public at large, and I do not think a few minutes will be at all mis-spent upon this occasion, although there is to be an ulterior discussion. I cannot help thinking with the honourable Gentleman who spoke last, that if there were also to be a reference to the College of Surgeons as well as to the College of Physicians, considerable advantage would be derived, for this plain and obvious reason, that Surgeons, more than Physicians, have had occasion to practise the Vaccine Inoculation, and to enter into the merits of the arguments which have been raised concerning it. (A loud cry of hear! hear!) With respect to the reasons which have prevented the propagation of this measure for saving

the lives of the people in this country; as it has done in others, I must admit that my learned friend (Dr. Mathews) has hit upon the very sentiments I wished to have expressed. I do not believe that any effectual plan has been adopted in order to prevent mistakes in the performance of the operation. I really am of opinion, that a great part of those prejudices which have arisen, proceeded entirely from the circumstances of its having been conducted by the hands of persons who from carelessness or ignorance have communicated to their patients a false and spurious species of this disorder. This is indeed a cause which we must all lament; and I think that it affords an additional reason for referring the subject to the investigation of Surgeons as well as Physicians. I must confess, Sir, that I rose chiefly to express my extreme satisfaction, that this most important and interesting subject has been brought forward from the respectable quarter from which it has proceeded (a general cry of hear! hear!) The high and respectable character which the Noble Lord possesses in his Majesty's government is a circumstance alone sufficient to do away those prejudices which are at present excited, and to obviate the objections which have been maliciously raised against this valuable discovery. I do, I affirm, most sincerely rejoice, that the matter has been thus taken up, for at all events, I am convinced that if the plan proposed by the Noble Lord be adopted by the House, the ends in view

will be completely answered, and the country will soon reap infinite advantage, by a saving of the lives of thousands of its inhabitants."

Mr. PAULI.—“ Sir, I beg leave to make a few observations upon the subject now under discussion. I happened to live many years in the town Lucknow, where there is reckoned a greater population than in any other part of the East Indies. The Vaccine Inoculation was there first introduced by men of science, although it afterwards came to be known, and practised by people in the profession of physic, two centuries behind us in the knowledge of medicine. In that town, Sir, the number of lives, which were annually lost by the dreadful ravages of the Small-pox, was reckoned to amount to between 670 and 800, but since the introduction of this discovery, there were not above 75 persons who annually died of that disease, during the last three years I resided in that place. (A loud cry of hear! hear! resounded from every part of the House.) The people in that part of the world, so far from thinking it requisite that men of science should alone practise it, were convinced that it was only necessary to be performed by slight intelligence, in order to be effectual. There is one other circumstance which I think worthy of remark ; which is, that in Scotland prejudice is certainly much stronger against the practice of Vaccination than in England, and particularly in the most northern parts of it, and for that reason, I am inclined to suggest to the

Noble Lord the propriety of joining the College of Physicians at Edinburgh in the proposed investigation." (A cry of hear!)

LORD HENRY PETTY (no one else rising) concluded the debate.—“Sir, I certainly experience a very great degree of satisfaction in finding the House so unanimous as to the general object in view from the motion which I have thought it incumbent upon me to submit to your consideration, and I think that nothing but the lateness of the session should prevent us from coming to some conclusion upon this important subject. Those honourable gentlemen, who have spoken upon this occasion, have distinctly and accurately stated the object I had in view, comprehended in combining all the weight of scientific knowledge that could possibly be obtained. This end, I think, may be fully accomplished by the inquiry being instituted by that learned and scientific body, recognized by the government of this country, under the name of the Royal College of Physicians. (A loud cry of hear!) and by an ulterior reference of their sentiments to this House through the medium of our Committee. (A second cry of hear!) I cannot, however, agree with an honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Banks) who has given it as his opinion, that this enquiry will not be one that involves a question of science, but merely a matter of fact. (A short cry of hear!) Could that honourable gentleman really suppose it possible that any Committee of this House can investigate the question



in such a manner as to ascertain what is a criterion with respect to the age of the matter to be infused, and how to distinguish the spurious from the genuine pustule! (a loud cry of hear! hear!) I do firmly believe, Sir, that one of the great causes from which its failure has arisen has been the adoption of late matter, and introducing it into the human system instead of that particular description of matter recommended by the learned discoverer himself. (A cry of hear! hear!)—I must differ somewhat too, from another honourable Gentleman opposite (Mr. Wilberforce), when he suggests the mode of leaving the whole inquiry to a Committee of the House. Must it not occur to every one, that the best method to ascertain with precision, its evil or its beneficial consequences, will be to institute the inquiry by means of medical men, as none but such men can rightly judge of these matters? (A general cry of hear! hear!) Could a Committee of the House, unassisted by professional gentlemen, be capable of properly ascertaining the degree of credit which ought to be attached to the various reports which have been most industriously circulated abroad, in the various publications which have lately appeared? Or is it to be imagined, that a Committee of this House can determine the reality of the assertion in some of these pamphlets, that the vaccine matter is apt to produce the worst affections in the human frame? (a general cry of hear! hear!) No, it is not in the power of any set of individuals, however learned and experienced they may be in other mat-



ters, to resolve with accuracy such medical questions without the assistance of professional men. (A general cry of hear!) I cannot therefore, entertain a doubt that there are parts of this investigation which may be exceedingly proper for a Committee, and other parts; fit only for a medical body. (A loud cry of hear!)

“ Now, Sir, with respect to annexing the College of Surgeons to this enquiry, I hope the House will do me the justice to think that I have before considered that point. It was suggested to me previously to my coming down to the House, but it occurred to me, that the enquiry ought rather to proceed from one centre. I have no doubt, Sir, but that the Royal College of Physicians in London, called on by the unanimous vote of this House, will be looked up to by the public, with that liberality and those favourable sentiments which are due to them, and that the College of Physicians, both in Scotland and in Ireland, will correspond with it, and also the College of Surgeons will communicate to that learned body every information in their power. (A general cry of hear!) Thus will the opinions of all the learned and scientific men in the three kingdoms be combined, and, together with the learning and discernment of the Committee, be comprised in the Report to be submitted to this House. (A loud and unceasing cry of hear!) We shall then, availing ourselves of such an accumulated weight of information and evidence, lay the whole matter before the public, in order to remove their prejudices or confirm their

doubts. Such, Sir, is the mode which appears to me to be the most eligible on this occasion ; and I trust the House will have no hesitation in agreeing unanimously with the motion which I have this day submitted to them. Before concluding, I cannot help taking notice of one other particular, which has been touched upon in the course of this discussion. It related to the remuneration which had been already granted by Parliament to Dr. Jennre, to whom the world owes this invaluable discovery. (A loud cry of hear!)—As there will certainly be some ulterior proceedings upon this business, it will then become matter of future consideration, whether or not, the reward, conferred upon that learned gentleman, was sufficient or inadequate, for those great services which he has rendered to mankind, and the great expence he has put himself to in bringing this subject clearly to light.—If the report shall be favourable towards the successful practice of this discovery, as I have no doubt it will be, (A loud cry of hear!) I shall think it my duty to contend on a future day, that the remuneration granted to Dr. Jenner is much more inadequate than it ought to be—(a general cry of hear! hear!) On this point, however, there will be ample room for discussion, it being a case which touches the pecuniary concerns of the country, when it will be the duty of every member to state what occurs to him upon such a subject, so that those who seem to imagine that the remuneration already conferred is sufficiently ample in every point of view, will have an opportunity of further

stating the grounds on which their arguments are founded."

The motion was then put from the chair, and agreed to *nem. con.*

It was ordered, that the Address be presented to his Majesty, by such members as were of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council.

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### *HOUSE of LORDS, July 3, 1807.*

THE EARL of SUFFOLK took occasion to make a few remarks on the subject of the Vaccine Inoculation. He expressed his happiness at what had taken place with respect to it in the other House of Parliament, which he trusted would tend finally to do away (and to which effect he was ambitious of contributing his mite) those ill-founded impressions which obtained against that useful and salutary practice, originating in certain scurrilous pamphlets, and the assertions of interested individuals. The practice was grown into extensive use upon the Continent. With respect to Spain, (which was not mentioned in the other House), particularly, he had the authority of a nobleman of high rank in this country (the Marquis of Bute) to state, that the Vaccine Inoculation was highly esteemed there, and encouraged by the Government so far, that in all the Royal Ordonnances relative to that subject, its worthy author was styled 'the immortal JENNER!' He had nothing now to propose, but was so fully impressed with the importance of the topic, that he could not avoid thus troubling their Lordships.

# DEBATE

IN THE

HOUSE OF COMMONS

ON THE MOTION

FOR THE

*FURTHER REMUNERATION*

OF

Dr. JENNER,

*JULY 29, 1807.*



# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

JULY 29, 1807.

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## *Committee of Supply.*

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved the Order of the Day for the House to go into a Committee of Supply, and stated that it was referred to that Committee to consider of a further sum to be allowed to Dr. EDWARD JENNER for the discovery of the Vaccine Inoculation, and his communication of it to the world.

The House in a Committee accordingly,

Mr. HOBHOUSE in the Chair.

The Right Honourable SPENCER PERCEVAL, (Chancellor of the Exchequer) said, " I am to solicit the attention of this Committee to the subject of the Vaccine Inoculation, that is, the mode which Dr. JENNER has brought into practice, as a preventive of Small-pox, a malady which has for many ages been one of the greatest afflictions to mankind, and from the visitation of which hardly any human being is spared. Of the means of this preventive Dr. JENNER was the first inventor, for they were not known before, or if





which we have of its importance, which can only be done by some encouragement being held out to its author; at the same time observing an æconomical regard to the interest of the public. We ought to appear attentive to both these objects; to be liberal towards the individual, and not lavish of the public money. Now nothing can be more difficult than to find out a standard by which to measure a grant of this sort, for reasons which must be obvious to this Committee.—This subject was under the consideration of this House some years ago,\* when the House entered into an inquiry on the value of this discovery; but the time in which the practice had been in use, had not then, been sufficiently long, to enable the House to form a satisfactory opinion, or rather a conviction, of the true value and importance of the practice: and therefore I do not think it fair to argue that, because the House then granted only £ 10,000 to Dr. JENNER, instead of £ 20,000 which was proposed, it should not make up that sum to him now, as the author of this discovery; on the contrary, I trust the Committee will think, that after so many years have elapsed, and so many opportunities have been had of seeing the efficacy of the practice, and of estimating its value and importance, and by which both have been perfectly established; after we have ascertained that the invention is genuine; I trust we shall be all convinced, that the sum first proposed to Dr. JENNER is not

\* July, 1802.

too much for him to have now. Nay, I should really think, that those who thought that sum too much at that time, would not be of the same opinion now. It is therefore my intention to propose to this Committee, to vote to Dr. JENNER the remainder of that sum which his friends recommended in this House on the former occasion; and I shall do so upon grounds that are perfectly satisfactory to my mind, as, I trust, they will be to this Committee. I shall propose that the reward to Dr. JENNER, for his matchless discovery—a discovery so beneficial to the human race, shall amount, in all, to the sum of £20,000, £10,000 of which was voted to him on a former occasion; I shall therefore now propose, that there be voted to him the further sum of £10,000. (Hear! hear! hear!) Now, I am sure, that as to Gentlemen who have taken the trouble of looking at the Report of the Royal College of Physicians, and still more those who have paid great attention to the subject, and which attention I wish to be the foundation of their vote this night; to them it cannot be necessary for me to make one observation; nor will it be necessary to make many on account of others, because the subject is so well, and so generally known—I say, that those who have taken a view of the Report will require no observations from me upon the importance of this discovery—I take it to be a proposition which cannot be contradicted, that the invention of Inoculation for the Small-Pox, in its former mode,

was an important invention to mankind ; it will then be a question how much more important the present mode of Inoculation is than the former ? And it is by comparing them together, that we shall be enabled to appreciate the superiority of the present practice, and then, to judge of the reward to be given to its author ; and we shall best qualify ourselves for so doing, by applying our observations to the documents before the House. The papers we have before us will shew how much greater than formerly, the benefits of Inoculation are to mankind from this discovery, and those benefits are not confined to the mere convenience of the process of Inoculation ; but are further derived from the perfect and absolute security it gives against future contagion ; not only of the Small-Pox, but of other disorders ; it leaving no contagion whatever behind. It is a practice of complete safety to those who are submitted to its operation ; and, upon that subject, the Report now before us is perfectly satisfactory. On perusal of these papers it appears, on a comparative statement, that in the ordinary course of nature, one person in six falls a martyr to the Small-Pox, as it is computed upon a general calculation ; and it appears further by this Report, that even by Inoculation, about one in 300 has usually died. There is, therefore, on this comparison, infinite advantage in the Jennerian practice, over that of ordinary Inoculation.—When we take the facts as they appear on the Report of

the Royal College of Surgeons, annexed to that of the College of Physicians, we shall find that the number of persons vaccinated, as stated in letters which are referred to, is 164,381; and the deaths are stated to be *three*. (Hear! hear! hear!) Out of 164,381, the deaths have been only three,\* which is at the rate of only one out of 54,793! (Hear! hear! hear!) So that on this statement of the case, this mode of treatment has a manifest and immense advantage over the other modes of treatment of the Small-pox. But that is not the whole of the subject, nor any thing like it. In the Appendix to the Report of the College of Surgeons, the practice appears to have consequences of another kind, and which are also to be attended to. They have given you the result of the whole of the cases of Vaccination which had come to their knowledge; by that account the numbers stand thus—out of 164,381, the number of cases in which Small-pox had followed Vaccination is 56. And here the Report remarks, under this head, that, in enumerating cases in

\* It is worthy of remark that these three deaths, which are stated to have occurred from inflammation in consequence of Vaccination, are confined to the Returns made to the College of Surgeons only; and *no other fatal cases* are stated to have happened in the practice of other medical persons and Vaccine societies, who made returns to the College of Physicians. As it is understood therefore, that these returns of numbers vaccinated amounted to nearly 500,000, the real proportion of deaths in consequence of Vaccination in authenticated cases, is not above one in 166,000.

which Small-Pox has succeeded Vaccination, they have included none but those in which the subject was vaccinated by the Surgeon reporting the facts.

The Report then states, that the bad consequences which have arisen from Vaccination are, eruptions in the skin 66 cases, and inflammation of the arm, 24 instances; of which three (already mentioned) proved fatal. So that we have 56, 66, 24, and 3, making 149.—These are all the inconveniences which have arisen, in any shape, from this practice, which are, comparatively, almost nothing, with reference to the evils which would have followed the ordinary course of Small-pox Inoculation; and which may be said to be literally nothing when we consider that these few unfavourable cases may have arisen, and probably have arisen, from mistakes, ignorance, or inattention of the practitioner; or from other causes that really are independent of the merit of the discovery itself: and yet these are all the inconveniences which can be set against the immense advantages of the discovery. I do not know that there is any mode of putting this in a stronger light, than by stating that the merit of the discovery, and the advantages of the practice, are known and felt, not only over the whole of this our island, but, that they have already been dispersed throughout the world; the whole of the inhabitants of which may be benefited, as prodigious numbers already have been, by the industrious and successful genius of Dr. JENNER. (Hear! hear! hear!) But we may be met with a fan-



ciful objection to this discovery, founded on the doctrine of Mr. MALTHUS. It has been said, 'This is all very true ; but what advantage is this to the community at large? Your population may indeed increase, by diminishing the number of deaths among you, but what is that, without increasing the means of human subsistence.'—Sir, we have heard of late, that our population is too much increased ; I own I am not much affected by that observation. In the first place, if the assertion could be proved to be true, " That the increase of population, unattended by an increase of the means of subsistence, is of no advantage to the state ;" I should answer, that I care not for that declaration ; for although I should like any practice, generally speaking, that may be serviceable to the general interest of the state, yet, I have no difficulty in declaring, that I like the practices of humanity better. But, I apprehend, there is no foundation for that argument (if argument it can be called), against the encouragement of Vaccination, nor have we any right to act upon it if it were true ; for I apprehend it to be our duty to preserve human life wherever we find it ; in every case wherein the individual has not forfeited that life by the commission of some crime for which the law has denounced the penalty of death ; that it is our duty to preserve life, without talking or thinking of the effect that system may have on the general interests of a State. And the preservation of human life includes a care to prevent, as much

as possibly we can, those diseases by which that life is shortened. For my own part I think, that whatever may be the plausibility of that system of philosophy by which we are taught that an increased population is an inconvenience to a state, I think there is no inconvenience so great as the inconvenience of constantly opposing the common feelings, and acting against the common dictates, of humanity. And I have often heard that the best riches of a State are the numbers of its inhabitants. Such is the view I have of that subject; but whether the new doctrine against population be in itself true or false, I have no difficulty in asserting, that there is no case made out before us to shew, that Doctor JENNER ought not to be rewarded by Parliament, with the sum of 20,000*l.* for his most useful discovery, as a remuneration for that discovery; extensive as the advantages have been by the use of it for the last eight years, and which will become infinitely more so hereafter, when the practice becomes universal; which it will do when the prejudices of mankind have subsided; for prejudices have always been the greatest enemies to discoveries, and of all improvements which ameliorate the condition of the human race. The sum now proposed to be voted to Dr. JENNER, is no more than what his friends thought a reasonable remuneration to him many years ago, when the value of money was, certainly, not less than it is at present. In the vote now proposed, there does not appear to me to be any thing

more than justice to Dr. JENNER. (Hear! hear!) I shall not go into a calculation of what may be the value of this discovery to the human race. I do not mean to attempt to estimate the value of lives which will be saved by it, especially of the lives of your soldiers and your sailors; many thousands of whom have, already, been preserved from untimely death by this most salutary practice; the value of which, it may, perhaps, at this moment, be impossible correctly to estimate; it is, however, certainly very great. Neither shall I enter on the consideration of the general benefit of the discovery to the world. If I were to go into all the considerations into which this subject may branch; if we meant to proportion our reward to the value of the discovery; I do not know where you are to stop. Nor do I know what might be an adequate reward for the devotion of the time and talents of a man of learning and of genius, such as have been bestowed on this subject; something certainly very handsome. All I can say is, that, in my opinion, the sum I propose is very moderate; and therefore I shall offer a Resolution, "That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a Sum not exceeding £ 10,000 be granted to His Majesty, to be paid to Dr. EDWARD JENNER, as a further reward for promulgating his Discovery of Vaccine Inoculation; by which a mild and efficacious mode of superseding that dreadful malady the Small-Pox, is established. And that the same be issued without any fee or other reward whatever."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE.—“ It is with very great reluctance that I rise to oppose an act of liberality towards any individual ; but I am acting solely by what I conceive to be my duty. I have a great respect for this learned physician, whose talents are highly in the estimation of mankind ; but being one of those who, on a former occasion, thought that the application to the House of Commons for £20,000 was excessive ; I concurred in the vote for £10,000 only. I did it under an idea which, I thought, was not an ill founded one ; I did it on the faith I had in the Report of a Committee of this House, which Report contained much extraordinary matter, but which I thought experience might afterwards confirm. But now it does appear from the Report of the College of Physicians, that some of the matter of the former Report was unfounded ; that many of the statements in it went to a greater extent than experience justifies. It was stated in that Report, ‘ That the practice of the Vaccine Inoculation was infallible as a cure to the Small-Pox,’ but we now find that in a great many cases it has failed. That in 56 cases of the Vaccine Inoculation, the Small-pox has followed, so that here we have 56 cases of real failure. (No ! no ! no ! from various parts of the House). I think it is fair to infer this, when we consider the manner in which the infallibility of the discovery was stated in the former Report, as to the recurrence of the disease.—The next part of the Report was, ‘ That after the Vaccine Inoc-

culation, no other disease would follow.' Now, it is stated by the Surgeons' Report (and those Surgeons I should wish to examine before I assent to any vote for a further sum of money on account of this discovery); that a scrophula has appeared after this Vaccination, and some other alarming symptoms.\*—There is another consideration which weighs with me on this occasion, in respect to the assertion that this practice has never really failed. I should like to call to the bar of this House witnesses, by whose testimony, I understand, several cases of failure will be made manifest; and I think it necessary to shew, if the fact be so, that the Report now before us is inaccurate. The present late period of the Session is another consideration with me; when so many members of this House are gone out of town, either on public or on private business; and therefore I do not think this the season for bringing forward a vote for a considerable sum of the public money, for I do not find, on any occasion of late, a great attendance in this House. As to Dr. JENNER himself, I can only say, that he is a person for whom I have great respect; but whether he be really the inventor of this remedy has been made a question. It is asserted that this has been invented so long ago as the year 1777. (No! no! no! from all parts of the House). It is said that a man of the name of

\* This is a mistake of the Honourable Member, as there is not one word in the Report of the Royal College, or in the Appendix, to warrant such an assertion.



JESTY found out this remedy, and tried the experiment on himself and his family. I think that if this be true, and if this House chooses to be liberal to the inventor of this remedy, this vote should be extended to that man or to his family.—Sir, I can only say, that in the course I shall take on the present occasion, I conceive myself to be doing my duty. I certainly shall oppose this vote; at the same time I ought to add, that I do not know that I shall always persist in opposing it, for that my great object is to gain time and further opportunity to examine the Report of the College of Physicians. I think further time is necessary to satisfy this House. I am sure that I want further time to be satisfied myself on this subject. At a distant period the consideration of it may be resumed, but it appears to me at present premature.”

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.—“My honourable Friend completely misunderstood my statement. He heard me state three deaths, but does not appear to have heard me state the 56 cases of Small-pox following Vaccination, or of the 66 cases of eruption, and 24 of inflammation. I stated them all, as well as the three deaths, for I did not wish to conceal any thing from the Committee; and I submitted that all these instances did not affect the general merit of the discovery, but rather proved the scrupulous minuteness with which it was investigated.”



Lord HENRY PETTY.—“ I so far differ from the honourable Gentleman who dissents from the proposition now before the Committee, that the hesitation which I feel upon it, arises from no doubt with regard to the efficacy of the discovery, but the difficulty of finding out by what rule the justice of this House should be administered to the inventor of it; to say nothing of the generosity of this House, because I am of opinion that comparing it with the value of the discovery, it is impossible for any vote to deserve that character. However, Sir, if absolute infallibility, that is, absolute perfection, is to be considered as the test of a discovery, before it can be entitled to a public reward, I must admit, in common with every advocate for this discovery, that the author of it is not entitled to any reward; but the establishment of that principle will be attended with this consequence, that no man on earth shall hereafter receive any reward for any invention; because I do believe that no discovery that was ever yet made, or ever will be made in this world, by man, was or will be absolutely perfect. Infallibility we must therefore look for in vain, in all the labours of man; and that, perhaps, more especially in the science of medicine than that of any other; because I believe that all that can be accomplished by human efforts in the discovery of means to prevent diseases, must depend upon general principles applicable to the majority of cases, but not to every individual in-

stance of illness with which it shall please Divine Providence to afflict the human constitution. All therefore which can be expected of any one who calls for public confidence in the efficacy of a discovery, is, that it shall be applicable to the great majority of cases which occur in human life, so as to approach to that which is ordinarily taken for certainty in human affairs; a rule by which they are all governed. We require nothing to be distinctly and absolutely perfect, least of all so, in the prevention of ills to which the human constitution is liable. As to the objection which is made to this vote on account of the late period of the Session, I would call to the recollection of my honourable Friend, that it is a period in which much public business remains to be done, for that no longer ago than yesterday, notice was given in this House, that we should be called on to vote for the public service a sum, vastly larger than this, in the course of the present week; and therefore with reference to the time, I think we are fully able to form an opinion upon the facts which are so clearly before us.—Sir, it has been hinted, and I wish to state, that my view of the subject leads to something greatly beyond what is here proposed; but I wish to refer to the observations of the right honourable Gentleman who has brought this subject forward, respecting the difficulty which there is of forming a standard by which public merit of this description should be rewarded. And



here I should submit to the consideration of the Committee, that however difficult it may be to find out to what standard we should refer the consideration of the reward, that we should not therefore be prevented from granting any. If we wait until we shall find out the standard by which the merit and the value of the discovery may be precisely ascertained, we shall never vote any thing, because there is no standard to which the merit and the value of the discovery can be referred: none by which we can say that Dr. JENNER might not afterwards come forward and shew that he had been inadequately recompenced. For if we take the question in the narrow and confined view of mere utility to this nation; at this moment the number of lives now in being, and which, but for this discovery, would not be in our fleets and armies, and in various branches of public service and employment, it would be difficult, if not impossible, precisely to estimate the value of this discovery, still more so as to the advantages we may derive from the practice in that respect hereafter, for every one soldier and sailor who has not had the Small-pox is hourly liable to that malady, a malady which the Vaccine Inoculation may in time extinguish, and which it has already more or less considerably diminished.—So much for the narrow and contracted view of the merit of this discovery, but in the contemplation of it on the large comprehensive scale of general benefit to the

human race, the mind is lost ; it is therefore manifest that in estimating the amount of national reward to be given to this individual, we must be guided by some rule that has no reference to the value of the discovery. Sir, it is notorious to the whole public, that whatever means Dr. JENNER might have had (and I do not know that it would have been easy for him) of keeping the secret of this discovery to himself ; he never made any such attempt ; on the contrary, from the first instant of the discovery there has existed in the mind of Dr. JENNER nothing but the most laudable desire of making the invention public ; he acted throughout with a perfect forgetfulness of himself, and with reference to nothing but the general advantage of mankind. Sir, this is a fact too notorious to be insisted on ; there is therefore great difficulty in finding out a standard by which we should judge of the reward to be given to this most distinguished man ; there is, however, one which has not been hinted at, and that, although it may not altogether determine, it may serve to guide our judgment ; I mean the estimation in which Dr. JENNER stands in the eyes of mankind almost all over the world. We should remember that we are now acting in the view of other nations ; that we are now about to give some token of the sense which we have of the merit of an individual well known to them by the distinguished success of his mental exertions, upon a subject most interesting

to all mankind. We should remember that our own character depends much on the estimation in which we hold the successful labours of men of science, that much of our own national strength arises out of, and grows upon it. Such a country ought to be proud of such an individual, and ought liberally to remunerate him in honour to its own character. Why then, I say, that although these considerations may assist us, there is no fixt standard by which we can actually determine the amount of the reward; but, this may be said without fear of contradiction, there is no standard to which we can apply that is not in favour of the proposition now before us. Sir, it is impossible to consider this in any light but that of one of the most valuable discoveries that ever appeared in the world; I say it is impossible for any man to consider it otherwise, who looks at the ravages of the Small-pox before this practice came into use; and when Gentlemen say that the method is not infallible, let them remember what the Report of the College of Physicians states, which is, "That the natural Small-pox has been supposed to destroy a sixth part of all whom it attacks," that is, a sixth part of all mankind almost, where that malady has been known. "And that even by Inoculation, where that has been general in parishes and towns, about one in 300 has usually died;" and then let them look at the proportion of persons who have suffered in only the least degree, generally, by the Vaccine Inoculation, that they are smaller than



the number of those who actually die under the old course of things in reference to this malady. That only three deaths have taken place under this method in the number of 164,381. If the former system of Inoculation be admitted to be a valuable discovery, how much more so must the present be, by which a smaller number of inconveniences occur, than deaths by the other. Can any thing after this be wanting to prove the utility of this discovery? As to the system of Mr. MALTHUS which the right honourable Gentleman who opened this debate alluded to, it was misconceived by him in my apprehension; the whole of the views of Mr. MALTHUS are confined to the conduct of a population. There is nothing in his system which forbids the prevention of an infectious disorder; it relates solely to the conduct of a population—a system on which I do not pronounce any opinion, right or wrong it is the result of great study and the product of the labour of a very philosophical mind. But here you extinguish a disorder which has so long been the cause of a great diminution of human happiness; a disorder which has indeed made great ravages among mankind. There are some other considerations which go beyond that of a reward to Dr. JENNER, on which, although I do not feel myself entitled to make any proposition to this House, yet they nevertheless deserve the serious attention of this House, and in the first place the attention of the right honourable Gentleman who opened this de-



bate. It must grieve this House to be informed, that great as the benefits are of this discovery, by the suspension of the ravages of the disease in the first instance, and the removal of it altogether in the second ; yet, in point of fact, the number of deaths from the old mode of Inoculation has not diminished, but in many places increased since this discovery was made. Now, it is far from being my wish, in my zeal for the promotion of this discovery, to recommend any thing like compulsion for its adoption, or to interfere with the opinion of any individual, however absurd that opinion may be, concerning the mode of preserving his own health, or that of his family ; but although I would not interfere with the freedom of an individual with regard to the mode of preserving his own health, yet I have no difficulty in saying that no individual has a right to conduct himself, even in the pursuit of preserving his own health according to the best of his judgment, so as to endanger the health of a great portion of the community by spreading an infection, which is the case when individuals go abroad while they are under the process of Inoculation under the old mode. This practice I understand to be increasing, and may be attended with dangerous effects. I know that in a country like this, where the inhabitants have been so accustomed to liberty in almost every thing, and in this practice among the rest ; it must be difficult, and without some infringement of liberty, perhaps impossible, to put an end altogether to this incor-

venience ; this, I am afraid, can hardly be done without some sort of compulsion, and that is odious to the people of this country ; but, although compulsion be odious, while it calls on mankind to be active against their will, yet while it goes no farther than to forbid their doing that which is hurtful to others, I think that a state has, not only a right, but that it is its duty to enforce it. I would therefore say, that if persons will persist in following the old system of Inoculation, they should be compelled to confine their practice within their own houses, and shall not be allowed to spread these ravages and this pest over the community at large ; but in the meanwhile I hope the friends of this new system will be distinguished by their laudable perseverance in its practice, these being the best means of recommending it to general adoption. I have now only to add, if indeed any general addition were wanted, to the facts which are set forth in the very able and luminous Report before us, if we wanted any additional lights, we should have them from other countries ; we should find them under the general reception of this discovery in other parts of the world. In Asia for instance, where prejudices are almost consecrated by the venerable antiquity from which they spring, the moral and physical causes of climate and of government, equally contribute to fix mankind in error, and render their minds almost impenetrable to the rays of the light of truth ; yet even there,

such has been the force of experiment and the power of facts, that the operation of it has been to convince individuals of that country of the value of this discovery, that they have adopted it, and availed themselves of its advantages and benefits ; and it is matter of great satisfaction to us to reflect, that amidst so many circumstances which, in the present state and future prospects of the world, spread a general gloom on our minds, we have to look at any thing of so refreshing and consolatory a nature as this discovery. It is matter of great consolation to us all, to see that the learned and liberal professors of the science of medicine have in general neither been misled by interest or prejudice (for although men of profound learning they had their professional prejudices) so that a very large proportion of that learned body, not in the metropolis alone, but all over the country, have admitted the reality of this discovery, and of its excellence. We have seen the members of another learned profession not think it inconsistent with their sacred functions to assist in disseminating its benefits by their influence and example. We have the further satisfaction to see, that whatever the state of this world may be in many respects, certainly its appetite for the reception of useful knowledge, is greater than it was at any other period in its history.—Sir, I shall not move any amendment to the Resolution now before us,

but I own I should have no difficulty in acceding to one for a larger sum."

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE.—“ What I stated was not from any invention of my own, but from the Report of the Committee of Physicians and Surgeons.”

General TARLETON.—“ After the very enlightened and indeed luminous speech we have just heard, I should not presume to trespass on this Committee at all, were I not convinced it is partly my duty as it is my intention, as a military man, to offer my tribute of applause to the author of this blessing to the human race; for I can with truth assure this Committee, that this discovery made by Dr. JENNER, has saved a very considerable number of his Majesty's subjects in his service. It has likewise been productive of other advantages. It is not confined to the military alone; its benefits are felt by all mankind. There are many advantages however from the Vaccine Inoculation that are of peculiar utility to soldiers, and which I have seen confirmed in numerous instances. Not a soldier need be left in the barracks during the process of Vaccination, but they can without the least inconvenience, move from place to place, just as if they were under no process whatever. They are also soon fit for their military duty, and are free from the inoculation in a much shorter period than in the old mode; and as they sustain no loss of time on account of the preparation, they

come very soon under arms again. This I should consider to be a point of great utility to this country at any time, and more especially at the present period. It has been thought that Generals, and other persons of my profession, are never disposed to offer a tribute of applause to any but successful warriors, and those who achieve great conquests. But I hope I know how, and I hope that most of the gentlemen of my profession know how, to admire the preservers of millions; and that we hold them in higher estimation than the man who slays his thousands and his tens of thousands; and I trust we shall allow that, in future ages, the glory of Dr. JENNER's fame will be superior to the trophied urn of the most renowned of warriors.—I shall not trespass on the patience of the Committee farther than to say, I shall vote for this Resolution.”

MR. STURGES BOURNE.—“The noble Lord opposite to me, has rendered it unnecessary for me to enter into any argument in support of the proposition now before the Committee, but if there was one part of the noble Lord's speech in which I may say I concur more than any other, it was that which related to the necessity of taking some means to prevent the spreading of contagion by the old practice of inoculation for the Small-pox. Sir, I could offer some facts to this Committee by which it would appear, that some provision of that kind is absolutely necessary. What I mean to

state is this ; there is a very laudable institution in this country established for the Inoculation of the Small-pox. I understand it is the practice now to inoculate out-patients there, to the amount of 2000 a year ; and that it is usual for these out-patients to resort twice a week to be inspected at this hospital by the Surgeon. Now it must be quite obvious that this is a practice of the most dangerous nature ; and that if we were to prescribe a mode of spreading the contagion, it would be difficult for human ingenuity to devise any thing better adapted for that purpose. No one would be more unwilling than myself to compel individuals to adopt any particular mode for the preservation of their health, because it is not in itself a proper subject of compulsion ; but still I must say, that however reluctant I may be to use any restraint upon such a subject, some means should be taken to prevent the dissemination of this contagious malady. I think that the Legislature would be as much justified in taking a measure to prevent this evil, by restraint, as a man would be in snatching a fire-brand out of the hands of a maniac, just as he was going to set fire to a city.—I am perfectly satisfied with the merits of this discovery, and shall most chearfully vote for this Resolution.”

Mr. HAWKINS BROWNE.—“ The practice to which my honourable Friend has alluded, prevailed some years ago, but not of late. I am a member



of the Small-pox Hospital, and I can say that the Governors and Directors of that charitable institution are great promoters of the Vaccine Inoculation, and, much to the honour of the medical profession it has been received by them all, with a very few exceptions. I believe that the Small-pox Hospital do not now practice any but the Vaccine Inoculation; but if they do, it is a proper subject for legislative authority; for I do agree with my honourable Friend, on the propriety of devising some means to prevent the spreading of the contagion of the Small-pox, by the old method of Inoculation.— After what has been said, so ably, on both sides of the House on this subject, I feel myself very little called upon to detain the Committee for the hearing of another sentence from me, if it were not that I think what my honourable Friend near me, and the noble Lord opposite to me have said, ought to be assented to; for it is impossible to conceive all the benefit which the public will derive from this discovery. Not only is it safe and easy in the process, and therefore most desirable for the patient, but indescribably valuable, because it does not communicate contagion. Now, if Dr. JENNER has invented a new mode of Inoculation that has saved human lives, so that only one had died out of 54,740, instead of one life out of 300, which is the computation of the mortality of the former practice, certainly he deserves every applause and remuneration which should be bestowed

on a great benefactor to mankind ; but I consider the benefit which is derived from this invention not confined to this country, for it is felt in every part of the world. It is a saving of human lives in the proportion which 54,740 bears to 300.\* And what is of still greater value, if any thing could be of greater value, it is totally free from a very serious objection which applies to the former mode of Inoculation, that of spreading infection ; for I believe it to be now pretty well ascertained, that more lives have been lost by the Small-pox since the discovery of Inoculation than before, although Inoculation has been highly beneficial to the individuals who have suffered it ; but the reason why Inoculation has been the cause of the loss of so many lives is, that it has spread the infection among those who were not inoculated, and who were not prepared to receive it. But, by this method of Dr. JENNER's, no infection whatever is spread, which is an advantage constituting a great part of the superiority of this new method. This is an excellence not noticed in the Resolution before the Committee, and therefore I should propose inserting the words, " which produces no contagion ; " because if we omit that description we shall hardly be doing justice to the discovery. As to the reward, I think it is impossible that it can

\* Or rather of 100,000 to 300, at least, see Note at bottom of page 60.

be too large, because it is impossible to estimate the value of the discovery; the sum proposed appears to me to be trifling when compared with the value of the thing. As to the lateness of the session, I see no reason for objecting to this vote on that account. I think the original sum of £10,000, which was voted to Dr. JENNER, was much too small a sum; and I attach shame to myself for having voted against the sum of £20,000, which was then proposed; but although I voted for the smaller sum, I did not mean thereby to say that no further sum should ever afterwards be granted; and I dare say, if the same Chancellor of the Exchequer were now in office (Lord SIDMOUTH) he, who then recommended only £10,000, would now vote for this additional sum; for at that time the practice was not known to be so beneficial to mankind as it is now incontestibly proved to be; for it has been attended with greater general success than any discovery ever before known. I think that an amendment such as I have hinted at, may be introduced with propriety into the Resolution now before us, and therefore, Sir, if you will have the goodness to read the Resolution, I will propose the Amendment."

Mr. HOBHOUSE then read the Resolution, That it is the opinion of this Committee that a sum not exceeding £10,000 be granted to his Majesty, to be paid to Dr. EDWARD JENNER, as a further reward for promulgating his discovery of Vaccine Inoculation, by which a mild, efficacious, &c.

Mr. HAWKINS BROWNE.—“ Here I would add, if it be agreeable to the Committee, the words, “ and not contagious,” for that I think is a material feature of the discovery, and that it ought to be mentioned in our Resolution, for when the late Chancellor of the Exchequer stated this discovery to the House, we were not assured, as we are now, that there could be no instance of infection from this practice; and I would further add, that there is not a single instance of any failure of any kind in the practice, where Dr. JENNER has himself superintended the process; and I have no doubt that if there was an opportunity afforded to this Committee to sit and examine other persons, every one of these cases which are stated to have been failures, that is, where the Small-pox has followed Vaccination; of inflammation in the arm; of eruptions in the skin, or of deaths, (of which, by the way, the instances are only three) would be explained, and would appear to have originated from the ignorance or unskilfulness of some persons who undertook the operation.”

Mr. NICHOLSON CALVERT.—“ I shall not offer any amendment to this Resolution myself, but if any be made, I should submit to the Committee that if any amendment such as that now offered by the honourable Gentleman be adopted, it will preclude any other amendment, in any antecedent part of the Resolution.

Mr. HOBHOUSE, the Chairman.—“ I should submit to the Committee the propriety of agreeing to the sum to be voted, previous to the discussion of any verbal amendment.”

Mr. STURGES BOURNE.—“ I did not state the fact concerning the Inoculation in the old way by the Small-pox Hospital, without foundation. I did not then, nor do I now, mean to cast the least imputation on that institution of which my honourable friend is a member, a very worthy member, as he is of every other institution to which he belongs; indeed none but a good institution is likely to receive the patronage of my honourable friend; but I hold in my hand an account of the Small-pox Hospital, in which the number of patients they had in the course of the last year is stated, by this it appears that a great number of out-patients were inoculated in the old mode. I should at the same time state, that this establishment is not hostile to the new practice, on the contrary they have administered the Vaccine Inoculation; but I object to their inoculating out-patients according to the old mode, because that is the most effectual way that could be devised for spreading the contagion. It is thus that the ravages of this dreadful malady are spread; by this account it appears that the number of out-patients of this Hospital last year is no less than *Two Thousand One Hundred and Forty-one*. I wish to know whether all these persons should be allowed to go abroad with this contagion about them? I say again, it is matter



worthy of consideration whether the Legislature should not adopt some measure upon this subject.

Mr. EDWARD MORRIS.\*—"Notwithstanding the very powerful arguments we have heard, and the strong impression which has been made by the statement of my right honourable Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) and my noble Friend (Lord Henry Petty) on the bench below me, in favour of the practice of Vaccine Inoculation, it does not appear to me that the peculiar nature of Dr. JENNER's claim on the gratitude of the country, has been yet pointed out to the attention of the Committee. It has been truly stated that the number of deaths under his mode of Inoculation has not exceeded one in about 55,000, but this is comparatively but a narrow view of the subject. The great merit of the discovery is, that you may reasonably expect from it the extermination of the disease of Small-pox; and the great merit of Dr. JENNER is, that this transcendent discovery is all his own. Inoculation by the old method has done a great deal undoubtedly towards mitigating the ravages of the Small-pox; the deaths occasioned by that disease in the natural way, were about one in six of those who were attacked, and in inoculated Small-pox about one in 300; but there are other considerations which ought very much to diminish our satisfaction at this statement. We must not conceal from ourselves that this mode of inoculation, from the contagion which it creates, has a

\* Member for Newport in Cornwall.



tendency to propagate the disease, that in point of fact the number of deaths from Small-pox has been increased instead of diminished since the introduction of this practice. The bills of mortality of the metropolis, and the concurrent testimony of the best informed persons on the subject are quite decisive of this fact. The number of out-patients recently inoculated under the direction of the Small-pox Hospital, has been alluded to by my honourable friend (Mr. Sturges Bourne). I am quite sure that he did not mean to throw any imputation on any of the persons connected with that charity; but it is impossible for the Committee not to perceive that the practice of inoculation thus carried on, is so far from having any tendency to exterminate the Small-pox, that the sources of contagion are more widely spread in consequence of it. Yet, Sir, I do not see how this is to be avoided so long as the ancient method is resorted to. The poor who submit to the operation cannot afford time for seclusion from their occupations, until the power of communicating the infection is extinct; so that the governors of this institution must either withhold its benefits altogether, or be content to administer them, subject to all the dangers of an increased propagation of the disease. In this view of the question, even this charitable establishment may have been a pest instead of a benefit to mankind, multiplying the number of victims, and creating the disease where perhaps it would not otherwise have existed. Regulation

might somewhat palliate this evil, but it could only palliate: the evil must still exist to a great degree and in a great number of instances. Here, Sir, is the pre-eminent distinction of Dr. JENNER'S discovery; no measures of precaution are requisite during the whole progress of the disorder. This evil, so calamitous under the old system, cannot exist under his. The patient inoculated with the Vaccine does not communicate the Small-pox, so that at the same time that you save him from the severity of the disorder, you do not expose others to the hazard of receiving it from him; you destroy the disease, for you destroy the liability of the human frame to receive it. Inoculation by the ancient method has no other real advantage than the opportunity which it affords of communicating a distemper of a more mild character than the natural Small-pox; but under all the advantages of this mode of communication, the Small-pox was a scourge which we were doomed to suffer for ever. It is to the enlightened mind and happy invention of this gentleman that we may look for an extermination of this dreadful malady; a malady which has swept away from the face of the earth so many millions of the human race. In forming our estimate of what is due to Dr. JENNER, the only other circumstance to which I shall advert, is that to which I have already slightly alluded, that this discovery is Dr. JENNER'S exclusively. It does not appear, although the attention of the whole medical world has been drawn to

this object, that any one suggestion has been offered which deserves the name of an improvement of the practice as originally promulgated by Dr. JENNER. It appears to have been perfect at the time of its promulgation. I do not mean to depreciate the value of the observations with which a number of learned persons of the medical profession, have enriched this subject, or to detract from the merit of a great variety of experiments which have illustrated its advantages. I only mean to say, that all that has been done has been in illustration merely; no one conclusion has been formed, as far as my information extends, which had not in substance at least been known to this gentleman, and communicated by him to the public. The process of Vaccination is now after all that has been said and written on the subject, the same as when he first gave it to the world. Sir, it is with this impression that this discovery will entitle this gentleman to the gratitude of mankind to the latest posterity, that it will form a splendid æra of the age in which we live; it is under these considerations that I have been induced to make this statement to the Committee, and so feeling, I strongly incline to go farther than this Resolution. We are bound, Sir, as it seems to me, to take into our view of the question the situation in which Dr. JENNER was placed previous to the successful promulgation of his discovery, and even to calculate on the probable consequence of its failure. Sir, if he had failed, his name would have been a bye-word of mockery;

but at least we are to recollect that during the progress of this invention, thus judiciously withheld for a great number of years till it was matured to perfection, it is almost impossible that he could have followed the ordinary duties of his profession; he must have sacrificed a great portion of his practice as a physician, so that the time which he devoted to the discovery of this inestimable remedy, may be said to be time devoted to the interest of the public, and entirely at his own risk. It seems to me, therefore, that we ought to reward this gentleman in such a manner as to place him in a state of affluence, I mean comparative affluence with reference to his rank, and condition. For these reasons, Sir, I shall submit to the Committee an amendment of this Resolution, that instead of £10,000, the sum of £20,000 be inserted; this I propose for the purpose of marking the sense we entertain of the merit of this gentleman, and to place him in a situation of independence.—And if I have expressed myself with a degree of warmth, I trust the Committee will impute it to the true cause, my opinion of the incalculable importance of this discovery to mankind, and to that alone; for I never saw Dr. JENNER in my life, and am a stranger to all his connections, nor did I come prepared for this occasion into the House; I had understood that all other subjects were to give way for the Poor Bill of my honourable Friend (Mr. Whitbread) but after what I have seen, and

heard, and know to have been proved upon this subject, I feel myself called upon to move that instead of £10,000, £20,000, be inserted in this Resolution.

The amendment being seconded and the question put upon it,

Sir JOHN SEABRIGHT.—“ I was one of the earliest to employ Dr. JENNER in the Vaccine Inoculation. He inoculated my children, and he taught several others in my neighbourhood the practice; they have used it, and great benefits have resulted from it in my neighbourhood. I live near the turnpike-road, and I know that before this practice took place, the people fled from the sight of the Small-pox, but now, they are so well convinced of the safety of this new method, that they go to see those who have it, in the most perfect confidence that they will not be infected; nor has one of them been infected. I know this from Dr. JENNER having inoculated my children, as I have said already. I am ready, as I ought to be, to bear testimony of this on every occasion. The time which Dr. JENNER has given up (for he must have given up much of his time to this invention) should be considered, and that may be said to be so much taken out of his own fortune. He may be said to have devoted his time for the benefit of mankind; and I think we ought to reward him better than by this Resolution it is proposed to reward him. I am so well convinced of the propriety of this amendment, that I intended moving it myself,



I am not speaking for Dr. JENNER. I think this sum is not only what this House owes to Dr. JENNER, but it is what this House owes to itself.—Sir, I most heartily concur in this amendment.”

Mr. HERBERT (of Kerry).—“After the very clear and able statement made by the Right Hon. and Learned Gentleman, high in office, the mover of the original Resolution; the powerful speech of the Noble Lord below me (Lord Henry Petty); and what has fallen from the learned Gentleman who has moved the Amendment, I think it needless to enter further into the particulars of the merit of the invention. They have been most ably and amply discussed, and I only rise, Sir, to advert to one point, in which alone there seemed to be to the Right Honourable and Learned Gentlemen, and the Noble Lord, some difficulty. They, and I may add, nearly all of us, appeared convinced, that the invention is of the greatest benefit to mankind in general, and its merits now are almost universally admitted, even by those who were at first most reluctant to allow it had any: they however confessed they were at a loss for some standard by which to appreciate the merits of the discovery, and the right honourable Gentleman expressly stated that, if we were to proportion the reward to the value of the discovery, he should not know what to propose, or where to stop; nor could he tell what might be thought an adequate reward, if it was meant to proportion the sum to the value of the discovery,



which, he added, was great beyond precedent or example.—Now, Sir, as the only question seems to be, by what standard or rule we shall be guided, in considering the amount of the reward, I think I can mention to the House a standard above which the reward should rise. The nation gave, for the discovery of means by which the longitude might be found at sea, £20,000. The present discovery is allowed to be of infinitely greater consequence to the general welfare of mankind than any ever before made. I therefore trust the reward will not be merely equal, but like the discovery, much greater; and I shall therefore give my vote for the larger sum with heartfelt pleasure.”

Mr. WILBERFORCE.—“I wish to say a few words upon this subject, and the rather because I was one of those who voted for the smaller sum when it was formerly discussed; but that was at a much earlier period of the discovery than the present. I wished on that occasion, as I wish on this, to act with liberality towards a meritorious individual, and I must say that I do not think that I do in any degree depart from my duty on the present occasion, when I express my wish for the larger sum. There are some considerations on which the larger sum ought, in my opinion, to be voted by this Committee; and those are considerations which I think have not hitherto sufficiently attracted the attention of Gentlemen. I mean the portion of

time which this learned man must have bestowed on this important subject before he brought it to maturity ; during which he must have given up almost, if not entirely, all the emoluments and advantages of his private practice. The pursuit of the discovery must have greatly diminished, and the accomplishment of it almost put an end to, his private practice. It has drawn him from the situation in which he was, in the exercise of a liberal and I dare say, lucrative profession ; and I dare say too, it might be proved that he has, hitherto, been a loser by this discovery, notwithstanding the sum which he has already received by the former vote of this House. And that is one of the very singular circumstances attendant on this discovery, for, as the honourable and learned Gentleman under the gallery has hinted, this differs from almost all other discoveries, however important they may be. In the course of discoveries in general improvements are made by the author, or by others, so that the invention becomes as it were, almost another thing from that which appeared at first ; but here, the invention becomes mature and entire out of the hands of the discoverer ; and that arose from the singular patience and self-denial of Dr. JENNER, who was not in a hurry to communicate to the world, what he had in his own mind ; for Dr. JENNER had this discovery in his own mind, and he mentioned it to a friend twenty years before he had brought it into that state in which, to his own satisfaction, he could bring it before the public,

so as to claim with confidence the approbation of mankind. He studied the subject with care and diligence; he watched the progress of it with care and attention; and by assiduity and unremitting labour, brought it to perfection. But he had the prudence and precaution not to shew it to the world before he had brought it to perfection: This is another reason why this ingenious and learned man should now be more liberally rewarded than if he had acted otherwise. If he had brought forward this invention sooner, it would have been liable to all those circumstances and accidents which occasion the failure of many undertakings which are exhibited prematurely. If he had offered it to the public while it was imperfect in his own mind, some mistakes might have arisen in the execution of it, and it might have become doubtful whether it was beneficial or not; and, perhaps, might have been rejected altogether. I am of opinion therefore, that you ought to reward this gentleman not only for the discovery itself, but also for having, for a long course of years, studied this subject; and because, although he had succeeded in making the discovery, he did not offer it to the public before he was sure it was perfect; and it ought to be remembered also, that when Dr. JENNER first came to London, and when he was making this discovery throughout the world, he was eminent in the medical profession, and if he had chosen to have made this invention the means of

his advancement as a private fortune, he might easily have made £10,000 a year for it. This he might have made by his general practice had he monopolized the use of it; there can be but little doubt of that, for there has been no failure in his practice of the Vaccine Inoculation. All the failures which are stated in the Reports before us, have arisen out of the practice of others. Dr. JENNER himself has never experienced one failure in the whole of his practice of Vaccination; and those who have practiced with prudence, according to his rules, have experienced no failure. Some ignorant apothecaries have failed, but that has been owing to their own rashness, in choosing to dash at the practice without being sufficiently acquainted with either the mode of treatment, or the precise period at which the matter should be taken; but professional men of more science, or being better acquainted with the subject, although men of no science, have been in general completely successful. But in the practice of Dr. JENNER himself there is not a single instance of failure; so that it is quite clear that Dr. JENNER might have made an handsome fortune had he chosen to confine the invention to his own practice; and this is made manifest by a man as able and as likely to calculate with accuracy upon that subject as any man in the world, Sir WALTER FARQUHAR, who was examined before a Committee of the House of Commons. But how did Dr. JENNER act? He

made his invention public upon the most generous and enlarged principles, and that by the universal language of painting, by which it becomes intelligible to all mankind alike, by means of an appearance on the arm. So that all persons understood at a view, as well those who did not, as those who did understand our language; so that his method of inoculating became perfectly well known at once, over every part of the habitable globe; and it has been adopted even in those parts of the world where prejudices are the most powerful, in Turkey and in China. So that Dr. JENNER has totally disregarded his own private interest, and given to the world at large the whole benefit of his invention; and for that reason, I trust the Committee will feel that he ought not to be a sufferer, but that he should now be rewarded with a liberal hand; for which reason I should be ready to vote for the amendment of the honourable and learned Gentleman for the additional £10,000; at the same time I should wish to suggest to the Committee an alteration; instead of granting the sum of £20,000, we should vote a thousand a year, which would be of the same value, or nearly so. I think that would be a better mode of remuneration to Dr. JENNER, who is now become a great public character, and the reward of this House ought to have a reference to that consideration. I believe there is not a man in the whole world better known and more respected or admired at this hour, than





Dr. JENNER. He has attracted the notice and obtained the esteem of foreign nations, and particularly of those who have made medical science their study. No man who is so much inquired after by foreigners when they arrive in this country. No one who has so extensive a correspondence from all quarters and corners of the globe; and we all know that such correspondence must be attended with expence to a considerable amount, and which must also take away his attention to the duties of his profession; a profession by which he might otherwise remunerate himself. From the information which I have received I have reason to believe that, from the great and extensive correspondence in which Dr. JENNER is engaged, he is involved in very considerable expence; and that expence is not likely to diminish; and for that among other reasons, I am led to think that £1000 a year would be a proper addition to his income; and I think it better than voting a sum of money to him, because it looks more like a memorial of the affection and gratitude of his country, and more likely to point him out to foreigners as a person possessing and enjoying the affection and the gratitude of his countrymen, who entertain a proper sense of the benefits they have received from him. I would add one word more—I believe that (without going into particulars) in consequence of Dr. JENNER's having sacrificed his professional practice at the place of his residence, Berkeley, in Gloucestershire,



to this discovery, he will be a loser even if this vote for the larger sum should pass. During one summer he lost his practice altogether. And here I revert to what I have some time wished to state, that when the sum of £10,000 was formerly voted, it was distinctly agreed to by the House, and I now perfectly recollect the circumstance that the sum then voted was much too small, but it was said that Dr. JENNER would be able to compensate himself by his future practice in some degree in London, for the loss of his former practice. Now that is really not the case; for, from the manner in which Dr. JENNER has made his discovery public, it is become perfectly easy for almost any body to practice his method, and the consequence has been, that so many follow the practice, that the profits to Dr. JENNER are inconsiderable: and I believe the fact to be, however strange it may appear, that he himself is literally less consulted than a great many others whom he has taught his method. I have had some of my own children vaccinated by him, but so plain and simple is the process that I have had others vaccinated by other medical persons with full confidence. This is the case with most of the families in this metropolis, and the effect has been, as I am credibly informed, that Dr. JENNER has not received above £100 a year for his Vaccination. Now I really think we are in some degree bound to make amends to this liberal, to this liberal and

public-spirited man, for his kindness to mankind, and not to let him be a sufferer by his goodness. I cannot quit this subject without reminding an honourable friend of mine (Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE) whose vote to night, although dictated by the sense he entertains of his public duty, as one of the guardians of the public purse, must nevertheless do violence to his private feelings, that it was stated distinctly by Sir WALTER FARQUHAR, before the Committee of the House of Commons, that if Vaccination should happen to fail in any one instance, so may the Small-pox itself; by which he said, he most distinctly meant this, that if it was possible to have the Small-pox after Vaccination, so it was possible to have the Small-pox after the Small-pox. That it was not more likely to come again in the one case than in the other; but that it was barely possible in either. And we have the authority of the College of Physicians for saying, that the same thing is much more applicable to the practice of Inoculation by the old mode; but, on that subject I should wish to observe, that really there is reason for believing, that where any disappointment has taken place in Vaccination, it has been owing to the ignorance of the operator.—Every good is attended with some corresponding evil. Dr. JENNER made his discovery public without reserve; immediately ignorant people thought they knew all about it, and that led to some unskilful application of the mode, and that has pro-

duced the disappointment; but when skill has been engaged in the practice, there has been no disappointment.—Sir, I beg pardon for taking up so much of the time of the Committee, but I cannot help proposing £1000 a year, instead of the additional £10,000, to Dr. JENNER.”

Mr. WINDHAM.—“ In a case where the opinion of the Committee appears to be so much made up, I shall certainly not think it right to trouble them at any length, more especially after the clear and forcible manner in which the subject has been already stated and argued. The question is, whether the sum of £20,000 should be given to Dr. JENNER in addition to what he has already received, or only £10,000; and I am decidedly in favour of the larger sum. There is undoubtedly in every case of this sort a considerable difficulty in settling what should be the precise amount of the reward granted, and this difficulty is not least in those cases, where, as at present, the reward must after all fall infinitely short of the value of the thing received. The principles, indeed, on which a judgment should be formed, are not difficult to be laid down; but they could be only general principles, and such as might still leave great doubt as to the application of them, and the quantum which should be given in each particular instance. The first of these principles, and that in fact which must lay the foundation for all the rest, is that the invention should be real, and should belong to the person

who claims to be the author of it. On this point the House could not possibly act with too much caution, especially after the examples which have occurred even in our own time, where rewards have been given to inventions and discoveries, pretending only to be such, and which, if their pretensions had been better, were not the inventions and discoveries of the persons who brought them forward. Till that point in any case should be sufficiently ascertained, it is needless to talk of any other. But that once established, the next enquiry seems to be, as to the utility of the invention supposed: for it can rarely happen that the public will with propriety be called upon to grant rewards for discoveries, which, however curious and ingenious, are not of any value. Each of these conditions are indispensable: but there may be inventions both real and valuable, which yet are not such as to call for remuneration out of the public purse. If they were the mere effect of accident, if they required for the production of them no genius or talents, or if they were the result of no previous search or endeavour; if, on the other hand, whatever was their origin, they were of a nature to be their own reward by making the fortune of their authors, in each of these cases there is nothing for which any call could be made on the munificence of the public. On one supposition only could such a demand have place, namely, that of an invention, which though useful and valuable, and certain to prove in the end bene-

ficial to its author as well as to the public, could not without the aid of public assistance overcome the difficulties which would for a while oppose themselves to its establishment. I cannot pretend to say that upon this last score the discovery now before the Committee is one that calls for the intervention of the House; such is its immense utility, such the sense already entertained of that utility in this country, and such the still deeper impressions, which, I am glad though somewhat ashamed to say, a sense of that utility has made on the minds of other countries, that there is little danger that Vaccination will not make its way, whether the Legislature here gives any assistance to it or not. It should not however be out of our minds, that even upon this ground the assistance of the Legislature would be far from superfluous: but before I say more upon this head, I wish to revert to those other general principles to which I have alluded, and to see from them both what the necessity of reward is in this case, and how far in the option which the question affords, the Committee ought to decide for the larger sum. The reality and the utility of the discovery I consider as being placed out of all doubt: no one will pretend to say, that the world was not about to owe the practice of Vaccination to Dr. JENNER. That the preventive property of the Vaccine matter has been long known among certain inferior classes in particular districts of this kingdom, was a fact never denied or dissembled: that a solitary instance, or even more than one, of matter being taken from the cow,

and applied purposely to the arms, to produce the disease, is, I believe not questioned. The merit of JENNER was, that he had remarked what others had overlooked; that he had cultivated what others had neglected; that he had pursued an enquiry which others had relinquished or never thought of engaging in; that from a small, unheeded, despised fact, he had with great sagacity discovered, and with infinite pains, judgment, and perseverance, developed and brought forth powers which no one had ever thought or dreamt of, which were to fill the world with admiration and gratitude, and to render a service to mankind which was never before supposed to be within the limits of possibility. He who did this was surely entitled *primâ facie* to some reward from his country, if not from all the world. But I wish the House to consider the merits of this invention a little more in detail. Even its magnitude, the point probably on which there would be the least question, requires some little consideration duly to appreciate it. It is not merely the decrease of danger and suffering on the part of those inoculated with vaccine matter, as compared with those inoculated in the common way, that constitutes the great advantage; it is the singular and invaluable circumstance of no infection being thereby communicated to others; the consequence of which is, that the final end and consummation of this great discovery is nothing less than the total extermination of the Small-pox, and the restoring mankind to the state



in which they were before this dreadful scourge came upon them, or rather to a still better state, as the means would now exist of freeing them from that pestilence should it ever again return. The common mode of inoculation, while it secures, or nearly secures those to whom it is applied, continues for ever to keep open, if not to enlarge, the source of danger to others; insomuch that calculations have been made to show, that the mortality by the Small-pox since the introduction of inoculation has been greater than it was before. It is not to be inferred from thence, as some seem to suppose, that if the facts were true, the world must have been a sufferer by inoculation; the world has gained by the change which it has introduced into the habits of life, and the effect it has had in freeing men from that terror which confined them before to their own homes and neighbourhood, and which operated as a continued check upon intercourse. If the danger was upon the whole as great, they at least had not the same terrors of it; had their fears been the same, and the same precautions in consequence been observed, the effects of inoculation would have been found possibly in a different shape, that, namely of a diminution of the deaths. These views of the final good to be produced by the Vaccine, and of the consequent rate at which it ought to be prized, depends unquestionably upon the truth of the character ascribed to it, and which will be found in its best as well as in its most au-

thentic form in the Report of the Physicians that is before the House. This Report indeed I consider as being all that is necessary to complete conviction; though it may not be true that in all cases the opinion of physicians must be received as conclusive on points of medical practice, they may safely be trusted for not assenting too readily to the introduction of what was new, armed as they were not only by the common feelings of professional jealousy, but by the reasonable distrust which long experience must have taught them, of pretended improvements and discoveries, and here the physicians are satisfied the House may safely dismiss its doubts. It is not necessary to resort for further satisfaction to the testimonies that are pouring in from all quarters, not only from cities and districts, but from whole nations and countries. The value, therefore, of the discovery as effecting all that was ascribed to it, and as ending in nothing but the total extinction of the Small-pox, not to mention the *quantum* of life which it would save in the mean time, I shall consider as proved. With equal confidence may I assume, what no one I presume will dispute, that but for Dr. JENNER the world would at present have been without that blessing, and might have remained so for a period of which no man can fix the extent. Here then are three of the main conditions necessary in such a question, to an extent far more than was necessary, a discovery of inestimable value, and a discoverer

whose claim cannot be disputed, and who owes his discovery not to chance, but to a long perseverance in 'endeavours, prompted by the most laudable, and guided by no common or ordinary powers. It remains to be asked, whether there are not other qualities in addition even to those of genius and industry, which have been manifested by Dr. JENNER in the course of this discovery, and which mark him out as having a peculiar claim for public remuneration; and whether the discovery has been of such a nature, especially in his hands, as to render legislative interference unnecessary by the advantages to the author which it has itself produced. There is no point of the case more applicable than this to the question immediately before the Committee, and few that ought more to be brought forward for the author's honour. Dr. JENNER has shewn throughout that he was actuated by motives of far higher consideration than those of regard to his personal interests, though to establish fully the reputation of the practice it was necessary to make it public; though by making it public he lost in a great degree the means of converting it to his own advantage, yet it is not to be doubted, that by a due compromise of these opposite considerations, a man intent only upon his own interest might have contrived to open for many years a source of such profit to himself, as to have set him much at his ease, in respect to any decision which Parliament might thereafter have

taken. Dr. JENNER did no such thing ; so far from seeking profit, he sacrificed his time, his money, his prospects in his profession, to the prosecution of his discovery, and never seems to have thought for a moment of himself, while any means remained untried for promoting the great object which he had in view. It was not thus that those persons (the Suttons) proceeded, who introduced into inoculation the last great improvement which it received, and the highest perhaps of which it was capable. They kept their practice concealed to the last moment, and succeeded notwithstanding in obtaining such confidence in their method in spite of the prejudices excited against them similar to those now excited against Dr. JENNER, as enabled them severally to make great fortunes, and even to furnish for a time the means of similar profit to others. On what grounds shall it be said, that a similar concealment and similar success was not practicable on the part of Dr. JENNER? In point of fact the attempt was not made : and what is still more directly to the purpose, the object of such an attempt if it had been made has not been accomplished. Dr. JENNER is not the richer for his discovery ; he is the poorer ; and it is a circumstance only of addition, a circumstance however of the highest honour to him, and that ought to enter largely into our consideration, that he is the poorer by his own disinterestedness, and by the preference given to public objects over considerations affecting only himself. In these circum-

stances, what Dr. JENNER has hitherto received is £10,000, and the question now is, whether that £10,000, should be made up to £20,000 or £30,000. Twenty thousand or thirty thousand, or the double of either of those sums appear so small and insignificant when placed by the side of such a service as he has rendered, that the proportion between them is wholly lost, and with a view to compensation for the benefit obtained, it seems hardly of consequence whether the one is given or the other. Dr. JENNER's cause seems in danger of suffering by the very greatness of the service which he has rendered. The utmost that can be done is so inadequate, that it becomes almost a matter of doubt whether it is worth while that any thing should be done at all. We must recur in this difficulty to the great principle by which the whole is governed, and which by tracing the reasons why any thing at all should be given, may furnish to the House the best assistance that can be had for settling their opinions as to the amount of the sum. Rewards, like punishments, are for the sake of example; and can be regulated by nothing but by a view of the consequences they are to produce on the general interests of society. By the reward given in any instance, a rate of bounty is laid down, as far as that instance operates, for the encouragement of similar exertions in future; and what rate should we establish and what encouragement hold out, if a service such as the present, the greatest possibly that by any



single act, or by any single person was ever conferred upon mankind, and displaying in the course of it qualities the most valuable, and conduct the most meritorious, should receive from a country like this no greater reward than a sum of £20,000?

I will not proceed to enquire whether the same might not be said of £30,000, but will confine myself to the question as it stands before the Committee, where the only point for determination is the option between the two sums. It will hardly be said, that on the principles here laid down, talents and genius are no fit subjects of reward; for these are qualities which encouragement would not alter, they are the gifts of nature. Of the genius and talents by which the world is benefited, how large is the portion which is not the gift of nature, but the effect of pains and cultivation. The application at least must always be voluntary, and cannot therefore be considered among those things on which reward and encouragement can have no influence. Let a reward be given to Dr. JENNER for his disinterestedness only, for the sacrifices which he has made, and it will not be found that a less sum should be given him, than the highest of those which are now asked. This is a limit afforded by the case itself. We cannot give to Dr. JENNER, for the most valuable discovery ever made, less than would be sufficient to indemnify him for expenses actually incurred, and profits actually sacri-



ficed. A sum not less considerable must be awarded him, if we should take as our criterion not the reason of the thing, but what has been the practice of the House on similar occasions. Does the discovery for which £30,000 is now asked, exceed no more the value of discoveries for which sums of £5000 and £10,000 have been granted, than in the proportion respectively of those sums. If our own authority as derived from former instances is not sufficient, let us take for our guide the feelings and opinions of foreign nations as to the magnitude of the discovery, and the gratitude due to the author. Could we bear to have it said, that England, the country which gave birth to this invention; England, where from the general diffusion of knowledge, and high cultivation of medical science, its merits might be expected to be best understood, and most truly appreciated, should notwithstanding be the country, which in proportion to its means, to its general practice, and to the peculiar call made upon it, was the least disposed to mark its sense of the value of the invention by a liberal or competent reward to the author? The feelings and opinions of foreign nations are not merely a means of showing what is right, but do of themselves, in a case of this sort, constitute a motive of conduct, and may make that right which was not so before. It may be right in certain cases that England should do what others think she ought to do; that she should never fall below the opinion which

the world has formed of her. The fame which the country has acquired as that in which publickly or privately useful inventions are most sure to find their reward, has had no small share in producing those which arose among ourselves, and of attracting those which originated in other places. The very pride of the country on this head ought not to be lightly regarded; but on a larger view its interests are also concerned. One further consideration ought not to be omitted, arising in part out of circumstances which I have already touched upon, but operating in a manner still more pointed and direct. It is the impression likely to be made on the public mind of this country, by the greater or less reward which Parliament may think it right to give, as indicating the opinion of Parliament on the value of the discovery and the certainty of its principles, and the effect thereby to be produced in fortifying or counteracting those ignorant prejudices and wicked arts by which, so little to our credit, the progress of the invention has been hitherto obstructed. The House knows what are the means which have been employed for that purpose, and that there are men in this country, happily not of the greatest authority, who do not think it repugnant to their duty nor find it beneath their character, to try to prevent, or rather to obstruct and delay the adoption of this practice, by turning against it the passions and prejudices of those, who have nothing but passion and prejudice to guide them, or who must be considered at least as wholly incapable of forming upon the subject

any sound judgment of their own. It is in vain to say that the arts of such persons can produce but little effect. Finally, no doubt, they cannot prevent the establishment of a system confirmed continually by fact and experience, and sanctioned by all that is intelligent and respectable; but in the mean while there are the vulgar and the ignorant, among whom arguments such as they use, are far more than a match for all that can be produced by men who employ for the support of their cause no arms but those of truth and reason. Persons to whom these would apply on a subject like the present, form, it must be remembered, but a small portion of the whole mass of the community, and to what period must the hope be removed of seeing the final extinction of the disorder, if four-fifths, perhaps, of the population of the country, are made to resist the progress of Vaccination, and to remain as a fund for perpetuating and propagating infection? Whatever tends to shorten the duration of such a state of things, must be an object of great importance; and what is more likely to counteract the pernicious influence of the practices here spoken of, than the authority of Parliament, manifested by the amount of the reward, the soundness of the practice, and of the blessings which it is calculated to dispense. Should it be said that in this view the difference between the sums proposed could do but little, let it be remembered that in the scale of national expenditure the difference between the sums is but

little ; and no country need fear being impoverished by the liberality of its rewards for discoveries such as the present. It would be happy for the country and for the world, should the demands for such exertions of national gratitude and munificence, be more numerous and more frequent. In every point of view in which I can consider the subject, I cannot hesitate in declaring in favour of the larger sum. My own opinion in fact is, that a sum still larger would be more suitable to the character of the country, and more conformable to the principles which ought to govern the conduct of countries upon such occasions."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER.—" I wish to correct a mistaken notion which some Gentlemen seem to have entertained of this proceeding in point of form ; for the House should be fully apprized of its situation, which may also shorten our discussion. I apprehend that, being now in a Committee of Supply, we cannot go further than to provide for the supplies of the year. That we cannot grant any thing more than a sum of money for this year ; and that if it be the intention of the House that, instead of a sum of money, an Annuity should be granted to Dr. JENNER, it should be in another shape, for, according to the ordinary practice, it should be by message from the King, recommending an annuity to such an amount as the House may think expedient. So that at present we cannot adopt the suggestion of my honourable Friend. The question therefore

now before us is, whether the sum which I have had the honour to propose to the Committee, ought to be increased or not. Now, upon the fullest consideration which I have been able to bestow on the subject, and after allowing to the arguments I have heard, (and they have been very able arguments) all the weight which they deserve, I cannot help retaining my first opinion as to the quantum to be allowed in this case. I am ready to admit, that my opinion is not entitled to much weight with the House, but it is my duty to state it; and although I allow that the points which were urged for the larger sum were put with much force, as indeed might have been expected, considering from whence they came, yet I cannot help saying, that nothing was urged on that subject which had not occurred to me before. I therefore think that the sum of £10,000, in addition to the sum of £10,000 already received in consequence of the former vote of Parliament, is a reasonable vote to be submitted to this Committee; and I do hope that the Committee will have a special regard to the times and circumstances in which we are voting away the public money, and will reflect that we are now in a situation in which we are called on in a very unusual manner, to vote a very considerable sum out of that public money. And I trust that I shall stand excused by the liberality of the House for the part which I am taking, and which appears to me to be the only part which I can take with propriety.—I apprehend that in point of

precedent, the Committee are not sanctioned in adopting the amendment, since I believe there is no instance in which the sum proposed by a person in my situation to be raised out of the public money, has been increased by the amendment of any other Member of Parliament. The larger sum proposed by the honourable and learned Gentleman, would exceed considerably the sum proposed by me, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and exceed also the sum proposed to this House on behalf of Dr. JENNER, before the noble Lord opposite to me (Lord Henry Petty) was in office. (alluding to the former vote under the administration of Mr. Addington) I wish most certainly, that this Committee may grant a liberal sum of money, which it is fit should be granted on this occasion. I admit the claim of Dr. JENNER on the public to be larger than we have any means of satisfying. I admit the merit of his discovery to its full extent. I admit that he has given it to the world most disinterestedly, and that he might have made most considerable profits by appropriating the practice exclusively to himself; but then it must be obvious to this Committee, that he could not have disseminated the mode without being every hour the more likely to enable others to follow the practice, and that would have broken in upon a system of exclusion; but the question for us now is, Can we assent to this larger sum without going further than we are warranted in going, by any precedent or by the circumstances of



times? And now that I am up, I would take notice of a matter alluded to by Gentlemen on both sides of the House, namely, the propriety of our taking a course which shall mark the sense we entertain of this invention, and to cause our opinion in its favour to be circulated in the most extended manner, to which I most readily subscribe; I think that too much pains cannot possibly be taken to diffuse our opinion of the merits of this invention, which is indeed invaluable. And here I would take the opportunity which is now afforded me, of stating, that the right honourable Gentleman who so ably, and to the advantage of us all, as well as most honourably to himself, fills the chair of this House, directed that the circulation of the printed Report of the Physicians and the Surgeons upon this subject, should not be confined to the usual number of 750 copies. That right honourable Gentleman, in the exercise of that discretion which he possesses, and of which he makes so judicious a use, ordered that more than double the usual number of printed copies circulated under the order of this House, should be distributed in this case, for the general diffusion of the information which the Report contained, and that the discovery might be circulated very widely under the sanction and authority of this House, a course which has been extremely useful to the public. He directed 200 copies to the College of Physicians, 200 to the College of Surgeons, 100 to the Society of Apothecaries. [Here the

Right hon. Member read the whole of the order of the Speaker of the House of Commons, for distributing copies of this Report, and then proceeded] So that the utility of this discovery has been recommended by the authority of this House already. It has been communicated also under the authority of the judgment of the College of Physicians and the College of Surgeons, and in my view of the case, this must be attended with very beneficial effects, and is a considerable step towards the accomplishment of that which I wish to see accomplished; a general conviction in the public mind, or rather an universal conviction in the public mind, of the great value of this discovery; and this is the more likely to be effected in this way, than by the adoption of any legal mode whatever for that purpose. I apprehend that the adoption of any legal measure whatever, for the support and progress of the discovery, would do more harm than good. It is more safe as well as more congenial with the feelings of the public, to leave the progress of the discovery to its own merits, rather than to resort to any measure of a legal nature to support it. (Hear! hear! hear!) I was struck at one time with the statement of my honourable Friend (Mr. Sturges Bourne); and thought for the moment, that some measure of restraint should be adopted by the Legislature; but, on reflection, I am convinced, that any harsh measures of compulsion or restraint would be unadvisable. For, in proportion as you attempt to do away preju-

dices by force, you will find prejudice attach the longer to those who are under its influence. Those who have the best means of forming their judgments, are less under the dominion of prejudice; but you will never convince the judgments of any class of persons by compulsion. We are told that no less than 2000 were inoculated in the old way, in the course of the last year, at the Small-pox Hospital; and that they were out-patients, whose passage through the streets, and contact with others, spread a very lamentable infection. That I admit to be a very considerable evil, and it is desirable that a stop should be put to it; that it should be put an end to; but if you attempt it by force, you will find that the effect of it would be, not only to increase prejudices already subsisting, but even to set up new prejudices against the very practice which you wish to recommend. If you wish to give the discovery any artificial assistance, give it directly, in its own way, by recommending by example, the safety and excellence of the practice; that may do much good by increasing the number of its advocates, and by shewing the merit of it to the world. But if you attempt to introduce it by any kind of force, you will raise up a spirit against it; for by a system of compulsion or restraint, you will create the very mischief which it is your object to prevent.—Now, Sir, differing as I do with many Gentlemen, as to the amount of the sum to be allowed in this case, under all the circumstances (for I still retain my opinion that the

sum I had the honour of proposing is the sum which ought to be voted on the present occasion) yet I admit to my honourable Friends, that Dr. JENNER's merit would claim a much larger reward than it is in our power to afford; because no money can be deemed a compensation for the use of such a discovery; but that is not the rule by which we are to measure our reward. I admit also that the reward of this House on such an occasion as this should be liberal. No one can suppose that I am actuated by any improper motives or feelings towards this Gentleman, in bringing forward the proposition which I have submitted to this Committee; but attending to all the circumstances which it is my duty to consider; comparing the sum which I have proposed, with other sums which have been voted by this House on other occasions, I feel that I am bound to say, that if the House runs away with the idea that £20,000 are not too much to be voted on the present occasion, it will, in my judgment, exceed the bounds of propriety, for then the sum will amount in all to £30,000, a sum which I believe is without precedent as to its amount. The whole matter however is for the judgment of the House; I have done what appears to me to be my duty, recommending the smaller instead of the larger sum."

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH.—“ After the subject has been so very ably discussed, it would be superfluous in me to say much upon it; and therefore my observations shall be few:—First, I think

that every person who would wish to give to Dr. JENNER a *reward*, would first allow his expenses, for until that be done, you cannot talk of reward. Since, then, the general merit of the discovery is admitted, and you are about to remunerate the inventor, the first thing you ought to do, is, to give him back the money which he has been out of pocket in bringing to perfection his discovery ;— a discovery which has been of so much advantage to mankind. Having done so, your next consideration will be, what is the amount of the reward which he should have? Now, if it were not for the present advanced state of the Session, I should like to have an enquiry instituted into the amount of the expence which Dr. JENNER has been at ; and then I believe it would appear, from indisputable evidence, that the sum already voted to Dr. JENNER has not reimbursed him the money he has been out of pocket, in bringing to perfection this most incalculably valuable discovery ; nor do I believe he will be reimbursed the money he has been out of pocket, unless the larger sum, now proposed, be voted to him.—Now, Sir, there are some points, at least there is one, on which no person in the House has touched ; which is, that the whole sum, now proposed to be granted to Dr. JENNER, in addition to what he received, will not equal the prospect, or even the actual receipt, of Dr. JENNER before he quitted Gloucestershire. That does appear to me to be a consideration which Gentlemen ought to take into their minds,

and to give it great weight. And now, in regard to the situation in which we shall stand in the estimation of foreign nations. There is a maxim which we have from the highest authority, "That a prophet hath no honour in his own country," and it is much too applicable to the case of Dr. JENNER, for he has indeed little comparative honour in this country. I hold in my hand part of a document which verifies my assertion—a statement of facts which I will read to the House; and which will set this matter in a clear and striking point of view. I mean a supplement to the *Madrid Gazette*, which states, "That on Sunday the 7th of September last, Dr. Francis Xavier Balmis, surgeon-extraordinary to the King of Spain, had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand on the occasion of his return from a voyage round the world, executed with the sole object of carrying to all the possessions of the King of Spain situated beyond the seas, and to those of several other nations, the inestimable gift of Vaccine Inoculation." He carried his expedition round the world, of which the gazette, the original of which I have here, gives the particulars, the most striking feature of which is that branch of the expedition which was destined for Peru, it is ascertained that it was shipwrecked in one of the mouths of the River de la Magdalena; but having derived immediate succour from the Natives, from the Magistrates adjacent, and from the Governor of Carthagena, the Sub-director, the three Members of the Faculty who accompanied



him, and the children, were saved, with the fluid in good preservation, which they extended in that part and its province, with activity and success. Thence it was carried to the Isthmus of Panama, and persons properly provided with all necessaries, undertook the long and painful navigation of the River de la Magdalena, separating when they reached the interior to discharge their commission in the towns of Teneriffe, Mompox, Ocana, Socorro, San Gil y Medellin, in the valley of Cucuta, and in the cities of Pamplona, Giron, Tunja, Velez, and other places in the neighbourhood, until they met at Santa Fe ; leaving every where suitable instructions for the Members of the Faculty ; and in the more considerable towns, regulations conformable to those rules which the director had prescribed for the preservation of the virus, which the Viceroy affirms to have been communicated to *fifty thousand* persons without one unfavourable consequence. The result of this expedition has been, not merely to spread the Vaccine among all people, whether friends or enemies, among the Moors of the Visayan Islands, and among the Chinese, but also to secure to posterity, in the dominions of his Majesty the King of Spain, the perpetuity of so great a benefit. The gazette states also, “ That this precious preservative against the ravages of the Small-pox, has already been extended throughout the whole of North America, to the Coasts of Sonora and Sinaloa, and even to the Gentiles and Neophytes of High Pimeria. In each capital, a

council has been instituted, composed of the principal authorities, and the most zealous members of the faculty, charged with the preservation of this invaluable specific, as a sacred deposit, for which they are accountable to the king and to posterity."

This expedition went from America to Asia, and where it was crowned with the most brilliant success, and with it, the comfort of humanity.—The physician then embarked in the port of Acapulco for the Philippine Islands, that being the point at which, if attainable, it was originally intended that the undertaking should be terminated. The gazette then states, that the bounty of Divine Providence having vouchsafed to second the great and pious designs of the King, Balmis happily performed the voyage in little more than two months, carrying with him from New Spain, twenty-six children destined to be vaccinated in succession as before; and, as many of them were infants, they were committed to the care of the matron of the Foundling Hospital at La Corunna, who in this, as well as the former voyages, conducted herself in a manner to merit approbation. The expedition having arrived at the Philippines, and propagated the specific in the islands subject to his Catholic Majesty, Balmis having concluded his philanthropic commission, concerted with the Captain-General the means of extending the beneficence of the King, and the glory of his august name, to the remotest confines of Asia. In point of fact, the Cow-pock has been disseminated

through the vast archipelago of the Visayan Islands, whose chiefs, accustomed to wage perpetual war with us, as the gazette states, have laid down their arms, admiring the generosity of an enemy, who conferred on them the blessings of health and life, at the time when they were labouring under the ravages of an epidemic Small-pox. The principal persons of the Portuguese colonies and of the Chinese Empire, manifested themselves no less beholden when Balmis reached Macao and Canton; in both which places he accomplished the introduction of fresh virus in all its activity, by the means already related, a result which the English, on repeated trials, had failed to procure in the various occasions when they brought out portions of matter in the ships of their East India Company, which lost their efficacy on the passage, and arrived inert. After having propagated the Vaccine at Canton as far as was possible, and the political circumstances of the empire would permit, and having confided the further dissemination of it to the physicians of the English factory at the above mentioned port, Balmis returned to Macao, and embarked in a Portuguese vessel for Lisbon, where he arrived on the 15th of August. In the way he stopped at St. Helena, in which, as in other places, by dint of exhortation and perseverance, he prevailed upon the English to adopt the astonishing antidote, which they had undervalued for the space of more than eight years, though it was a discovery of

their nation, and although it was sent to them by JENNER himself." So much for the Gazette, the original of which in Spanish, I have here.—Besides this, there has been a letter from Marseilles, in which it is stated, "That the Small-pox is almost annihilated there, and in almost every part of the world; and they scarcely believe that in Great Britain, the original seat of the discovery, and which has the advantages of an insular situation, the Small-pox is not exterminated." From Vienna it appears that it is reduced to almost nothing. From 800 annually to less than 10. In Swedish Pomerania, from 700 yearly to less than 50. In the East-Indies, no less than two millions of subjects have been vaccinated. I hold in my hand a Report upon that subject made by surgeons there. From the year 1805 to 1806, 178,000 were successfully vaccinated; and, in all, 430,000; and they have universally resisted the contagion of Small-pox. In Bombay, such has been the success of vaccination, that the Small-pox is totally extirpated. From Calcutta the Reports are equally favourable, and the numbers there vaccinated are nearly two millions: and the Small-pox has been so far subdued at Ceylon, that the hospital formerly appropriated to receive persons infected with that disease, is now given up for the use of the army. Sir, these facts are stated on the best authorities, and I cannot help supposing that they will make a proper impression upon the House; and having stated them, I would ask the House

whether the reward now proposed by this amendment be too much, under all the circumstances of this case? I cannot help reminding the House of the loss which Dr. JENNER is likely to sustain in future, in his practice as a Physician, and that on account of this very discovery; and it is no reproach to Dr. JENNER; for although he is not only the first and best vaccinator in the world, and the author of that inestimable discovery, yet, no body would, on that account, the sooner send for him to cure a fever; on the contrary, one would on that account, send for another physician rather than for him, for we are apt to suppose that a man could never become so eminent in any one matter as Dr. JENNER is on the subject of Vaccination, who had not given to it the whole of his attention, to the exclusion of every other subject; and therefore it is no reproach to Dr. JENNER, that having quitted his neighbourhood, where his merits were known, and coming to London, where he is chiefly known as the inventor of the Vaccine, his practice as a Physician, has not been equal to that which it was in his neighbourhood. His expences have indeed increased greatly. His practice has not kept pace with his merit, and it is perfectly clear that he has not received what he ought to have received, not only because the discovery he has made is inestimable in itself, but also because he has made the mode of treating it so perfectly easy, that any other person may perform the operation as well as himself; so much so, that scarcely any



one of us would take the pains of sending for him to the next parish, who has a common apothecary of his own. That being so, and as we find that no reward can be granted by way of annuity to Dr. JENNER, as suggested by the honourable Gentleman opposite to me (Mr. Wilberforce) I do hope, that, notwithstanding the opposition of the right honourable Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) the Committee will be induced to grant the larger sum in this case; and I cannot help persuading myself that the right honourable Gentleman, who, from his situation, is bound to be as sparing in a pecuniary point of view as he can in every vote of this nature, will not be hurt in his feelings if his recommendation should be negatived by this Committee. He will not be displeased at finding himself overborne by the general sentiments of the House, and I may venture to add, by the general sentiments of the inhabitants of this country, and of the world."

Mr. WHITBREAD.—"What has fallen from the right honourable Gentleman opposite to me (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) in the course of his speech, may be calculated to have an unfavourable effect on this Committee, and therefore I think it necessary to say a few words. I allude to what the Chancellor of the Exchequer said with regard to the liberality of Dr. JENNER, in making this discovery known to the world, disregarding every species of monopoly on his part; communicating the secret to every person in the



kingdom without the least reserve. Now it has been said that Dr. JENNER, in so doing, consulted his own interest. I do not think he did so; in a pecuniary sense, I mean: for, if he had kept the secret to himself, and confined the practice to his own hands, he might have made a large fortune; as Mr. Sutton did by the mode of Inoculation which he practiced, and as Baron Dimsdale did, who went over to Russia to inoculate the Empress. Now I think that the statement which has been made of the circumstances of this case, ought to induce the Committee to concur in the proposition for the larger sum. I am as unwilling as any one can be, to protract this debate, probably more so, because I am anxious to enter on the discussion of another subject in which I am personally concerned, and in which the public, as I conceive, are particularly interested, because it relates to the condition of the poor of the community in which we live, (alluding to his Bill for the education of the Poor, the discussion of which was the next order of the day); but I would not on that, or on any other account, withhold from Dr. JENNER my tribute of applause, by omitting to support and recommend to this Committee that remuneration which the larger sum would afford; and here I would call on the landed gentlemen in this House, to vote for the larger sum for Dr. JENNER, because he has, by his discovery, furnished the means of decreasing the poor-rates; for although his mode of Inoculation has not been

disseminated throughout the whole community, yet it may be so; and, by the lives which it will save, the community will be benefited to that extent; and by diminishing the effect of that dreadful scourge upon the human race, there will be less affliction from disease, eventually less poverty, and consequently the burthen of the poor-rates will become lighter; this is only one of the advantages of this discovery, which I recommend to the particular attention of the country gentlemen; but taking all the advantages together, the benefits to mankind at large from this invention are absolutely incalculable. Now, with regard to Inoculation by the former mode, I know it has the advantage of producing the disease of the Small-pox in a milder form than that which is the common effect of taking it in the natural way: but then it often happens that Inoculation in the former mode, leaves behind it a disease which lasts as long as the patients life. This is verified by papers before us, and we find that after the ordinary mode of Inoculation, it is common to observe in the patient the affliction of ulcers and various scrophulæ. But wherever Vaccination has been introduced, this evil has been avoided. From year to year this has been felt to be the effect; so that Vaccination is not only advantageous to the health of the patient, but it keeps money in the pockets of those who would otherwise have to pay it, under the head of poor-rates. For this reason I think Dr. JENNER is particularly entitled to the support of every landed gentleman in this House.

But that is a very narrow view of the subject. With regard to the philosophical part of it, that has been so eloquently displayed, and the character of Dr. JENNER has been depicted in terms so glowing by several gentlemen, and particularly by my noble friend, (Lord Henry Petty) that I shall not detain the Committee by expatiating upon that subject. I would guard the Committee against concurring in the vote for only £10,000, under any expectation that the consideration of this subject may be renewed, and that, hereafter, a thousand a year may be granted to Dr. JENNER. I wish to guard the Committee against an expectation so likely to be disappointed. Let us not let this opportunity slip. This is the time to give a reward to Dr. JENNER. The opportunity may never recur, and therefore we should avail ourselves of it, and remunerate Dr. JENNER to the extent proposed by this amendment; to the extent of the value of his services, is totally out of all question. As to the sum of £20,000 or £30,000, no man can say there is in it any thing too extensive upon such a subject. There is, to be sure, a limit beyond which no man's liberality will induce him to go, in voting the public money to an individual; and this "saving of the public purse," in rewarding individual merit, is a principle which we indulge in almost to a fault. Do not let us, when liberality is called for, think of nothing but œconomy; that which is called œconomy in this case, would, in my opinion, if adopted, be, to this House, disgrace.

Sir, I concur most heartily, and I trust a large majority of this House will concur, in this amendment."

Mr. FULLER.—“ I perfectly agree with the honourable Member who has just sat down, that the larger sum should be given in this case, and I can assure this Committee, that the sum of £10,000 voted the last time this subject was before the House, was matter of accident, and that but for that accident, the sum of £20,000 would have been granted. That vote, for only £10,000, was carried by three votes. Gentlemen thought it was a settled point that the larger sum was to have been granted ; several Members went away instead of staying for the division, and among others Mr. Tierney, who were surprized to hear that it was carried upon a division for £10,000 instead of £20,000 ; and therefore this Committee should consider that the sum of £10,000 is, as it were, due to Dr. JENNER, for that the sum of £20,000 would have been voted for him instead of £10,000 if it had not been for a mere accident. I mention this as a fact applicable to the last vote given by this House upon this subject : but in a national point of view, surely this country would disgrace itself if the sum of £20,000 was not voted on this occasion. We are about voting a reward which will be spoken of all over the world, and we should not appear to be niggardly in our reward for such a discovery—a discovery so beneficial to the whole human race. It is singular enough that

the benefits of this invention have been more extensively felt in every other country than in our own, which has given it birth. It has been felt even at Otaheitie ; but as you cannot consistently with your freedom inforce regulations as other states can, which are not free, you must be content to receive the benefits of this invention more slowly. In other countries the disorder of the Small-pox has been already exterminated."

Mr. BARING.—“ It has been observed, Sir, that the disease of the Small-pox has, by means of Dr. JENNER'S invention, been exterminated in other countries, and yet we know that in our own, where the discovery was made by which that extermination is produced, the same effect has not been accomplished, the cause of the failure has been stated by the honourable Gentleman opposite to me [Mr. Sturges Bourne.] He has complained of the effect of prejudice in persons adhering to the former mode of Inoculation, but he has at the same time expressed some tenderness for that prejudice, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has gone still further, and has expressed a desire that nothing should be done to prevent the effect of that prejudice. Now, Sir, I confess that I feel no tenderness of that description ; the tenderness and compassion which I feel is for the mass of the population of this country, whose interest should not be sacrificed out of compliment to the prejudices of some individuals among them. I own I should feel no difficulty in assenting to a legis-



lative measure by which all Inoculation whatever should be prohibited, except by Vaccination; and I do hope that at some period, and that not a very distant one, this business will be taken into consideration in some shape or other. For this country is in a singular situation, that of having discovered an antidote to the poison of the Small-pox, and yet it is the last to have so used that antidote so as to put an end to the effect of the poison."

Mr. G. ROSE, junior.—"I feel strongly, and that beyond any personal motive, the attention due to the proposition of my right honourable Friend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that we as representatives of the people, and guardians of the public purse, ought never to be lavish in rewards to individuals, however great their merit; and that the more especially as the members of this House are, generally speaking, placed in a situation in which they do not feel the burthen as heavily as their constituents do; yet, in the present case, I feel inclined to vote for the larger sum, and I ought to inform this Committee that when this subject was before this House on another occasion, the numbers for granting only £10,000, were 101, and for granting £20,000, 100; and after that decision it was pretty generally understood, that a claim was to be made at some future period, for an additional sum to be granted to Dr. JENNER. Why then, if £20,000 was at that period so generally thought a sum suit-



able to the occasion, I should think that the larger sum now proposed, would not be deemed more than sufficient. I shall now proceed to state very shortly, a single argument which I am not quite sure has yet been fairly entered into, by any Gentleman who has spoken, and possibly not so fully considered as it might be, by this Committee. It was this, that Dr. JENNER might not only have gained great reputation, but also a large fortune, by keeping in his own hands the secret which he had discovered, but that by his immediate and unreserved diffusion of the knowledge of it, he not only lost all that advantage, but also destroyed, almost entirely, his own practice as a physician; that is a point which has, perhaps, not been sufficiently attended to, because there is a fastidious fancifulness in the minds of people in general, and that not less in choosing a physician than in any other case, which leads them to suppose that the wonderful *acumen* by which this discovery was made, has entirely exhausted the genius of its author; and the general denomination of the "Cow-Pox Doctor," almost precludes Dr. JENNER from following his profession as a general physician, for which he is so eminently qualified. If he is so deprived, and from such a cause so deprived, I do not know where he is to look, or where he ought to look, without disappointment of his hopes for remuneration, so confidently, as to the Representatives of the People of that country which he has so signally benefited. If he cannot

look with confidence to this House for remuneration, I do not know where he may." (Hear! hear! hear!)

Admiral POOL rose, (amidst a great cry of question! question!) The gallant officer gave an account of the effect of the practice of Vaccination on the seamen, and observed, that he had seen many a brave fellow fall a sacrifice at sea, to the Small-pox: but since the introduction of Vaccination, he had not witnessed the instance of a single victim to that dreadful disease. This was a practice which had already saved thousands of brave sailors to the British navy, and would continue to save thousands every year. And he concluded by declaring that he thought the author of the invention ought to be rewarded nobly."

The question was then put, that the words "Twenty Thousand," do stand part of the Resolution, when the Committee divided:

Ayes, 60

Noes, 47—Majority 13

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that a sum not exceeding TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS be granted to His Majesty, to be paid to Dr. EDWARD JENNER, as a farther reward for promulgating his discovery of Vaccine Inoculation; by which a mild, efficacious, and not contagious mode of superseding that dreadful malady the Small-pox, is established. And that the same be issued and paid without any fee or other reward whatever."



[A P P E N D I X.]

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REPORT

OF

The Royal College of Physicians of London,

ON

VACCINATION.

WITH

THE OPINIONS

OF THE

Royal Colleges of Physicians of Edinburgh and Dublin;

AND OF

The Royal Colleges of Surgeons of London,  
of Dublin, and of Edinburgh.

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*Ordered to be Printed by the House of Commons,  
8th July, 1807.*

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## R E P O R T.

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**T**HE Royal College of Physicians of London, having received His Majesty's Commands, in compliance with an Address from the House of Commons, "to inquire into the state of Vaccine Inoculation in the United Kingdom, to report their opinion and observations upon that practice, upon the evidence which has been adduced in its support, and upon the causes which have hitherto retarded its general adoption;"—Have applied themselves diligently to the business referred to them.

Deeply impressed with the importance of an inquiry which equally involves the lives of individuals, and the public prosperity, they have made every exertion to investigate the subject fully and impartially. In aid of the knowledge and experience of the members of their own body, they have applied separately to each of the Licentiates of the College; they have corresponded with the Colleges of Physicians of Dublin and Edinburgh; with the Colleges of Surgeons of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; they have called upon the Societies established for Vaccination, for an account of their practice, to what extent it has been carried on, and what has been the result of their experience; and they have, by public notice, invited individuals to contribute whatever information they had severally collected. They have in con-



sequence been furnished with a mass of evidence communicated with the greatest readiness and candour, which enables them to speak with confidence upon all the principal points referred to them.

I. During eight years which have elapsed since Dr. JENNER made his discovery public, the progress of Vaccination has been rapid, not only in all parts of the United Kingdom, but in every quarter of the civilized world. In the British Islands some hundred thousands have been vaccinated, in our possessions in the East Indies upwards of 800,000, and among the nations of Europe the practice has become general. Professional men have submitted it to the fairest trials, and the public have, for the most part, received it without prejudice. A few indeed have stood forth the adversaries of Vaccination, on the same grounds as their predecessors who opposed the Inoculation for the Small-pox, falsely led by hypothetical reasoning in the investigation of a subject which must be supported, or rejected, upon facts and observation only. With these few exceptions, the testimony in favour of Vaccination has been most strong and satisfactory, and the practice of it, though it has received a check in some quarters, appears still to be upon the increase in most parts of the United Kingdom.

II. The College of Physicians, in giving their observations and opinions on the practice of Vaccination, think it right to premise, that they advance nothing but what is supported by the multiplied and unequivocal evidence which has been brought before them, and they have not considered any facts as proved but what have been stated from actual observation.

Vaccination appears to be in general perfectly safe; the instances to the contrary being extremely rare. The disease excited by it is slight, and seldom prevents those under it from following their ordinary occupations. It

has been communicated with safety to pregnant women, to children during dentition, and in their earliest infancy: in all respects it possesses material advantages over Inoculation for the Small-pox; which, though productive of a disease generally mild, yet sometimes occasions alarming symptoms, and is in a few cases fatal.

The security derived from Vaccination against the Small-pox, if not absolutely perfect, is as nearly so as can perhaps be expected from any human discovery; for amongst several hundred thousand cases, with the results of which the College have been made acquainted, the number of alledged failures has been surprizingly small, so much so, as to form certainly no reasonable objection to the general adoption of Vaccination; for it appears that there are not nearly so many failures, in a given number of vaccinated persons, as there are deaths in an equal number of persons inoculated for the Small-pox. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate the superiority of Vaccination over the Inoculation of the Small-pox, than this consideration; and it is a most important fact, which has been confirmed in the course of this inquiry, that in almost every case, where the Small-pox has succeeded Vaccination, whether by Inoculation or by casual infection, the disease has varied much from its ordinary course; it has neither been the same in violence, nor in the duration of its symptoms, but has, with very few exceptions, been remarkably mild, as if the Small-pox had been deprived, by the previous Vaccine disease, of all its usual malignity.

The testimonies before the College of Physicians are very decided in declaring, that Vaccination does less mischief to the constitution, and less frequently gives rise to other diseases, than the Small-pox, either natural or inoculated.

The College feel themselves called upon to state this strongly, because it has been objected to Vaccination,

that it produces new, unheard-of, and monstrous diseases. Of such assertions no proofs have been produced, and, after diligent enquiry, the College believe them to have been either the inventions of designing, or the mistakes of ignorant men. In these respects then, in its mildness, its safety, and its consequences, the individual may look for the peculiar advantages of Vaccination. The benefits which flow from it to society are infinitely more considerable; *it spreads no infection, and can be communicated only by Inoculation.* It is from a consideration of the pernicious effects of the Small-pox, that the real value of Vaccination is to be estimated. The natural Small-pox has been supposed to destroy a *sixth* part of all whom it attacks; and that even by Inoculation, where that has been general in parishes and towns, about one in 300 has usually died. It is not sufficiently known, or not adverted to, that nearly *one tenth*, some years more than one tenth of the whole mortality in London, is occasioned by the Small-pox; *and however beneficial the Inoculation of the Small-pox may have been to individuals, it appears to have kept up a constant source of contagion, which has been the means of increasing the number of deaths by what is called the Natural disease.* It cannot be doubted that this mischief has been extended by the inconsiderate manner in which great numbers of persons, even since the introduction of Vaccination, are still every year inoculated with the Small-pox, and afterwards required to attend two or three times a week at the places of Inoculation,\* through every stage of their illness.

From this, then, the public are to expect the great and uncontroverted superiority of Vaccination, that it communicates no casual infection, and, while it is a protection to the individual, it is not prejudicial to the public.

III. The College of Physicians, in reporting their Observations and Opinions on the Evidence adduced in sup-

\* See Introductory Remarks.

port of Vaccination, feel themselves authorized to state that a body of evidence so large, so temperate, and so consistent, was perhaps never before collected upon any medical question. A discovery so novel, and to which there was nothing analogous in nature, though resting on the experimental observations of the Inventor, was at first received with diffidence: it was not, however, difficult for others to repeat his experiment, by which the truth of his observations was confirmed, and the doubts of the cautious were gradually dispelled by extensive experience. At the commencement of the practice, almost all that were vaccinated were afterwards submitted to the Inoculation of the Small-pox; many underwent this operation a second, and even a third time, and the uniform success of these trials quickly bred confidence in the new discovery. But the evidence of the security derived from Vaccination against the Small-pox, does not rest alone upon those who afterwards underwent Variolus Inoculation, although amounting to many thousands; for it appears, from numerous observations communicated to the College, that those who have been vaccinated are equally secure against the contagion of epidemic Small-pox. Towns indeed, and districts of the country, in which Vaccination had been general, have afterwards had the Small-pox prevalent on all sides of them without suffering from the contagion. There are also in the evidence a few examples of epidemic Small-pox having been subdued by a general Vaccination. It will not, therefore, appear extraordinary that many who have communicated their observations should state, that though at first, they thought unfavourably of the practice, experience had now removed all their doubts.

It has been already mentioned, that the evidence is not universally favourable, although it is in truth nearly so, for there are a few who entertain sentiments differing



widely from those of the great majority of their brethren. The College, therefore, deemed it their duty, in a particular manner, to enquire upon what grounds and evidence the opposers of Vaccination rested their opinions. From personal examination, as well as from their writings, they endeavoured to learn the full extent and weight of their objections. They found them without experience in Vaccination, supporting their opinions by hearsay information, and hypothetical reasoning; and, upon investigating the facts which they advanced, they found them to be either misapprehended or misrepresented; or that they fell under the description of cases of imperfect Small-pox, before noticed, and which the College have endeavoured fairly to appreciate.

The practice of Vaccination is but of eight years standing, and its promoters, as well as opponents, must keep in mind, that a period so short is too limited to ascertain every point, or to bring the art to that perfection of which it may be capable. The truth of this will readily be admitted by those acquainted with the history of Inoculation for the Small-pox. Vaccination is now, however, well understood, and its character accurately described. Some deviations from the usual course have occasionally occurred, which the Author of the practice has called spurious Cow-pox, by which the public have been misled, as if there were a true and a false Cow-pox; but it appears, that nothing more was meant, than to express irregularity or difference from that common form and progress of the Vaccine Pustule from which its efficacy is inferred. Those who perform Vaccination ought therefore to be well instructed, and should have watched with the greatest care the regular progress of the Pustule, and learnt the most proper time for taking the matter. There is little doubt that some of the failures are to be imputed to the inexperience of the early Vaccinators, and it is not



unreasonable to expect that farther observation will yet suggest many improvements that will reduce the number of anomalous cases, and furnish the means of determining, with greater precision, when the Vaccine disease has been effectually received.

Though the College of Physicians have confined themselves in estimating the evidence to such facts as have occurred in their own country, because the accuracy of them could best be ascertained, they cannot be insensible to the confirmation these receive from the reports of the successful introduction of Vaccination, not only into every part of Europe, but throughout the vast continents of Asia and America.

IV. Several causes have had a partial operation in retarding the general adoption of Vaccination; some writers have greatly undervalued the security it affords, while others have considered it to be of a temporary nature only; but if any reliance is to be placed on the statements which have been laid before the College, its power of protecting the human body from the Small-pox, though not perfect indeed, is abundantly sufficient to recommend it to the prudent and dispassionate, especially as the Small-pox, in the few instances where it has subsequently occurred, has been generally mild and transient. The opinion that Vaccination affords but a temporary security is supported by no analogy in nature, nor by the facts which have hitherto occurred. Although the experience of Vaccine Inoculation be only of a few years, yet the same disease, contracted by the Milkers of Cows, in some districts has been long enough known to ascertain that in them, at least the unsusceptibility of the Small-pox contagion does not wear out by time. Another cause is, the charge against Vaccination of producing various new diseases of frightful and monstrous appearance.



Representations of some of these have been exhibited in prints in a way to alarm the feelings of parents, and to infuse dread and apprehension into the minds of the uninformed. Publications with such representations have been widely circulated, and though they originate either in gross ignorance, or wilful misrepresentation, yet have they lessened the confidence of many, particularly of the lower classes, in Vaccination; no permanent effects, however, in retarding the progress of Vaccination, need be apprehended from such causes, for, as soon as the public shall view them coolly and without surprize, they will excite contempt, and not fear.

Though the College of Physicians are of opinion that the progress of Vaccination has been retarded in a few places by the above causes, yet they conceive that its general adoption has been prevented by causes far more powerful, and of a nature wholly different. The lower orders of society can hardly be induced to adopt precautions against evils which may be at a distance; nor can it be expected from them, if these precautions are attended with expence. Unless therefore, from the immediate dread of epidemic Small-pox, neither Vaccination nor Inoculation appear at any time to have been general, and when the cause of terror has passed by, the public have relapsed again into a state of indifference and apathy, and the salutary practice has come to a stand. It is not easy to suggest a remedy for an evil so deeply imprinted in human nature. To inform and instruct the public mind may do much, and it will probably be found that the progress of Vaccination in different parts of the United Kingdom will be in proportion to that instruction. Were encouragement given to Vaccination, by offering it to the poorer classes without expence, there is little doubt but it would in time supersede the Inoculation for the Small-pox, and thereby various sources of variolous infection

would be cut off; but till Vaccination becomes general, it will be impossible to prevent the constant recurrence of the natural Small-pox by means of those who are inoculated, except it should appear proper to the Legislature to adopt, in its wisdom, some measure by which those who still, from terror or prejudice, prefer the Small-pox to the Vaccine disease, may, in thus consulting the gratification of their own feelings, be prevented from doing mischief to their neighbours.

From the whole of the above considerations, the College of Physicians feel it their duty strongly to recommend the practice of Vaccination. They have been led to this conclusion by no preconceived opinion, but by the most unbiassed judgment, formed from an irresistible weight of evidence which has been laid before them. For when the number, the respectability, the disinterestedness, and the extensive experience of its advocates, is compared with the feeble and imperfect testimonies of its few opposers; and when it is considered that many, who were once adverse to Vaccination, have been convinced by further trials, and are now to be ranked among its warmest supporters, the truth seems to be established as firmly as the nature of such a question admits; so that the College of Physicians conceive that the public may reasonably look forward with some degree of hope to the time when all opposition shall cease, and the general concurrence of mankind shall at length be able to put an end to the ravages at least, if not the existence, of the Small-pox.

LUCAS PEPYS, PRESIDENT.

Royal College of Physicians, }  
10th April, 1807. }

*Jas Hervey*, Register.

## DOCUMENTS

*Annexed to the REPORT.*

No. I. To the Royal College of PHYSICIANS of London.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM ordered by the King and Queen's College of Physicians, in Ireland, to thank the Royal College of Physicians of London for the communication they have had the honour to receive from them, of certain propositions relative to Vaccination, whereon His Majesty has been pleased to direct an inquiry to be instituted, and in the prosecution of which, the co-operation of the College in Ireland is requested.

And I am directed to acquaint you, that the said College having referred the investigation of these propositions to a Committee, have received from them a Report, of which the inclosed is a copy; and that they desire the same may be considered as containing their opinion upon the subject.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

By order of the King and  
Queen's College of  
Physicians in Ireland.

Humble Servant,  
HUGH FERGUSON,  
Register.

*Dublin, 11th Nov. 1806.*

“ The practice of Vaccination was introduced into this city about the beginning of the year 1801, and ap-

pears to have made inconsiderable progress at first. A variety of causes operated to retard its general adoption, amongst which the novelty of the practice, and the extraordinary effects attributed to Vaccination, would naturally take the lead.

“ Variolous Inoculation had been long, almost exclusively, in the hands of a particular branch of the profession, whose prejudices and interests were strongly opposed to the new practice; and by their being the usual medical attendants in families, and especially employed in the diseases of children, their opinions had greater effect upon the minds of parents. The Small-pox is rendered a much less formidable disease in this country by the frequency of Inoculation for it, than it is in other parts of His Majesty’s dominions, where prejudices against Inoculation have prevailed; hence parents, not unnaturally, objected to the introduction of a new disease, rather than not recur to that, with the mildness and safety of which they were well acquainted.

“ In the beginning of the year 1804, the Cow-pox Institution was established under the patronage of the Earl of Hardwicke, and it is from this period that we may date the general introduction of Vaccination into this city, and throughout all parts of Ireland.

“ The success of the Institution, in forwarding the new practice, is to be attributed in a great measure to the respectability of the gentlemen who superintend it, and to the diligence, zeal, and attention of Dr. Labatt, their Secretary and Inoculator. In order to shew the progress which has been made in extending Vaccination, your Committee refer to the Reports of the Cow-pox Institution for the last two years, and to Extracts from their Register for the present year.

	Patients Inoculated.	Packets issued to Practitioners in general.	Packets to Army Surgeons.
1804	578	776	236
1805	1,032	1,124	178
1806	1,356	1,340	220
Total	2,966	3,240	634

In the above statement, the numbers are averaged to the end of the present year, on the supposition of patients resorting to the Institution as usual. The correspondence of the Institution appears to be very general throughout every part of Ireland, and by the accounts received, as well from Medical Practitioners as others, the success of Vaccination seems to be uniform and effectual. At the present period, in the opinion of your Committee, there are few individuals in any branch of the profession, who oppose the practice of Vaccination in this part of His Majesty's dominions.

“ It is the opinion of your Committee, that the practice of Cow-pox Inoculation is safe, and that it fully answers all the purposes that have been intended by its introduction. At the same time, your Committee is willing to allow that doubtful cases have been reported to them as having occurred, of persons suffering from Small-pox, who had been previously vaccinated. Upon minute investigation, however, it has been found that these supposed instances originated generally in error, misrepresentation, or the difficulty of discriminating between Small-pox and other eruptions, no case having come to

the knowledge of your Committee, duly authenticated by respectable and competent judges, of genuine Small-pox succeeding the regular Vaccine disease.

“ The practice of Vaccination becomes every day more extended; and, when it is considered that the period at which it came into general use in Ireland is to be reckoned from so late a date, your Committee is of opinion, that it has made already as rapid a progress as could be expected.

(Signed)

“ JAMES CLEGHORN.

“ DANIEL MILLS.

“ HUGH FERGUSON.”

No. 2.

Physicians Hall, Edinburgh,  
26th Nov. 1806.

Gentlemen,

THE Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh have but little opportunity themselves of making observations on Vaccination, as that practice is entirely conducted by Surgeon Apothecaries, and other Medical Practitioners not of their College, and as the effects produced by it are so inconsiderable and slight, that the aid of a physician is never required.

The College know that in Edinburgh it is universally approved of by the profession, and by the higher and middle ranks of the community, and that it has been much more generally adopted by the lower orders of the people than ever the Inoculation for Small-pox was, and they believe the same to obtain all over Scotland.

With regard to any causes which have hitherto prevented its general adoption, they are acquainted with none, except the negligence or ignorance of parents among the common people, or their mistaken ideas of the impropriety or criminality of being accessory to the



production of any disease among their children, or the difficulty or impossibility, in some of our country districts, of procuring Vaccine matter, or a proper person to inoculate.

The evidence in favour of Vaccination appeared to the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh so strong and decisive, that in May last, they spontaneously and unanimously elected Dr. JENNER an Honorary Fellow of their College;—a mark of distinction which they very rarely confer, and which they confine almost exclusively to Foreign physicians of the first eminence.

They did this with a view to publish their opinion with regard to Vaccination, and in testimony of their conviction of the immense benefits which have been, and which will in future be derived to the world, from Inoculation for the Cow-pox, and as a mark of their sense of Dr. Jenner's very great merits and ability in introducing and promoting this invaluable practice.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

TH. SPENS, C.R.M. E<sup>d</sup>P<sup>r</sup>.

To the Royal College  
of Physicians of London.

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No. 3. At a Special Court of Assistants of the Royal College of Surgeons, convened by order of the Master, and holden at the College on Tuesday the 17th day of March, 1807;

Mr. Governor LUCAS in the Chair:

Mr. LONG, as Chairman of the Board of Curators, reported, That the Board are now ready to deliver their Report on the subject of Vaccination.

It was then moved, seconded, and resolved, That a Report from the Board of Curators, on the subject of Vaccination, which was referred to their consideration by the Court of Assistants, on the 21st day of November last, be now received.

Mr. Long then delivered to Mr. Governor Lucas (presiding in the absence of the Master) a Report from the Board of Curators.

It was then moved, seconded, and resolved, That the Report delivered by Mr. Long, be now read ; and it was read accordingly, and is as follows :

To the Court of Assistants of the Royal College of Surgeons in London.

THE REPORT of the Board of Curators, on the subject of Vaccination, referred to them by the Court, on the 21st day of November, 1806 ; made to the Court on the 17th of March, 1807.

The Court of Assistants having received a letter from the Royal College of Physicians of London, addressed to this College, stating, that His Majesty had been graciously pleased, in compliance with an Address from the Honourable House of Commons, to direct His Royal College of Physicians of London to enquire into the state of Vaccination in the United Kingdom, to Report their Observations and Opinion upon that practice, upon the evidence adduced in its support, and upon the causes which have hitherto retarded its general adoption ; that the College were then engaged in the investigation of the several propositions thus referred to them, and requesting this College to co-operate and communicate with them, in order that the Report thereupon might be made as complete as possible :

And having on the 21st day of November last, referred such letter to the consideration of the Board of Curators, with authority to take such steps respecting the contents thereof as they should judge proper, and report their proceedings thereon, from time to time to the Court:—The Board proceeded with all possible dispatch to the consideration of the subject.

The Board being of opinion that it would be proper to address circular letters to the Members of this College, with a view of collecting evidence, they submitted to the consideration of the Court, holden on the 15th day of December last, the drafts of such letter as appeared to them best calculated to answer that end; and the same having been approved by the Court, they caused copies thereof to be sent to all the Members of the College in the United Kingdom, whose residence could be ascertained, in the following form, viz.

“ Sir,

“ The Royal College of Surgeons being desirous to co-operate with the Royal College of Physicians of London, in obtaining information respecting Vaccination, submit to you the following questions, to which the favour of your answer is requested.

“ By order of the Court of Assistants,  
Lincoln's-Inn Fields,

Dec. 15, 1806.

“ OKEY BELFOUR,  
Secretary.”

“ 1st. How many persons have you vaccinated ?

“ 2d. Have any of your patients had the Small-pox after Vaccination ? In the case of every such occurrence, at what period was the Vaccine matter taken from the vesicle ? How was it preserved ? How long before it was inserted ? What was the appearance of the inflammation ?

And what the interval between Vaccination and Various Eruption ?

“ 3d. Have any bad effects occurred in your experience in consequence of Vaccination ? And if so, what were they ?

“ 4th. Is the practice of Vaccination increasing or decreasing in your neighbourhood ; if decreasing, to what cause do you impute it ?”

To such letters the Board have received 426 answers ; and the following are the results of their investigation :

The number of persons, stated in such letters to have been vaccinated, is 164,381.

The number of cases in which Small-pox had followed Vaccination is 56.

The Board think it proper to remark under this head, that, in the enumeration of cases in which Small-pox has succeeded Vaccination, they have included none but those in which the subject was vaccinated by the Surgeon reporting the facts.

The bad consequences which have arisen from Vaccination are, eruptions of the skin in 66 cases, and inflammation of the arm in 24 instances, of which three proved fatal.

Vaccination, in the greater number of counties from which Reports have been received, appears to be increasing ; it may be proper however, to remark, that, in the Metropolis, it is on the decrease.

The principal reason assigned for the decrease are,

Imperfect Vaccination,  
Instances of Small-pox after Vaccination,  
Supposed bad consequences,  
Publications against the practice,  
Popular prejudices.

And such Report, having been considered, it was moved, seconded, and resolved,

That the Report now read be adopted by this Court, as the answer of the Court to the letter of the Royal College of Physicians, of the 23d day of October last, on the subject of Vaccination.

Resolved,

That a copy of these Minutes and Resolutions, signed by Mr. Governor Lucas (presiding at this Court in the absence of the Master) be transmitted by the Secretary to the Register of the Royal College of Physicians.

(Signed) WM. LUCAS.

No. 4.

Edinburgh, March 3, 1807.

Sir,

I mentioned in my former letter, that I would take the earliest opportunity of laying before the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, the communication with which the Royal College of Physicians of London had honoured them, on the 23d of October last :

I am now directed by the Royal College to send the following answer on that important subject.

The practice of Vaccine Inoculation, both in private, and at the Vaccine Institution established here in 1801, is increasing so rapidly, that for two or three years past, the Small-pox has been reckoned rather a rare occurrence, even amongst the lower orders of the inhabitants of this city, unless in some particular quarters about twelve months ago ; and, among the higher ranks of inhabitants, the disease is unknown.

The Members of the Royal College of Surgeons have much pleasure in reporting, that, as far as their experience goes, they have no doubt of the permanent security against the Small-pox which is produced by the consti-

tutional affection of the Cow-pox ; and that such has hitherto been their success in Vaccination, as also to gain for it the confidence of the public, insomuch that they have not been required for some years past to inoculate any person with Small-pox who had not previously undergone the Inoculation with the Cow-pox.

The Members of the Royal College have met with no occurrence in their practice of Cow-pox Inoculation which could operate in their minds to its disadvantage, and they beg leave particularly to notice, that they have seen no instance of obstinate eruptions, or of new and dangerous diseases, which they could attribute to the introduction among mankind of this mild preventive of Small-pox. The Royal College of Surgeons know of no causes which have hitherto retarded the adoption of Vaccine Inoculation here ; on the contrary, the practice has become general within this city : and from many thousand packets of Vaccine matter having been sent by the Members of the Royal College, and the Vaccine Institution here, to all parts of the country, the Royal College have reason to believe that the practice has been as generally adopted throughout this part of the United Kingdom as could have been expected from the distance of some parts of the country from proper Medical assistance, and other circumstances of that nature.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

WM. FARQUHARSON,

President of the Royal College and Incorporation  
of Surgeons of Edinburgh.



No. 5.

Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland,  
Dublin, February 4th, 1807.

Sir,

I am directed to transmit to you the inclosed Report of a Committee of the College of Surgeons in Ireland, to whom was referred a letter from the Royal College of Physicians in London, relative to the present state of Vaccination in this part of the United Kingdom ; and to state, that the College of Surgeons will be highly gratified by more frequent opportunities of corresponding with the English College of Physicians on any subject which may conduce to the advancement of Science, and the welfare of the public.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

JAMES HENTHORN, Secretary.

At a Meeting of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland,  
holden at their Theatre, on Tuesday the 13th day of  
January, 1807,

FRANCIS M'EVROY, Esq. President.

Mr. Johnson reported from the Committee, to whom was referred a letter from the College of Physicians, London, relative to the present state of Vaccination in the United Kingdom, &c. &c. That they met, and came to the following Resolutions :

That it appears to this Committee, that Inoculation with Vaccine Infection is now very generally adopted by the Surgical Practitioners in this part of the United Kingdom, as a preventive of Small-pox.

That it appears to this Committee, that from the 25th day of March, 1800, to the 25th of November, 1806,

11,504 persons have been inoculated with Vaccine Infection at the Dispensary for Infant Poor, and 2,831 at the Cow-pox Institution, making a total of 14,335, exclusive of the number inoculated at hospitals and other places, where no registry is made and preserved.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Cow-pox has been found to be a mild disease, and rarely attended with danger, or any alarming symptom, and that the few cases of Small-pox which have occurred in this country, after supposed Vaccination, have been satisfactorily proved to have arisen from accidental circumstances, and cannot be attributed to the want of efficacy in the genuine Vaccine Infection as a preventive of Small-pox.

That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the causes which have hitherto retarded the more general adoption of Vaccination in Ireland, have, in a great measure proceeded from the prejudices of the lower classes of the people, and the interest of some irregular practitioners.

To which Report the College agreed.

Extract from the Minutes,

JAMES HENTHORN, Secretary.

## No. II.

*It may not be uninteresting to give here the following estimate of the mischiefs arising from Small-pox, by an anonymous author.*

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## VACCINATION.

“NOTWITHSTANDING the extensive and increasing progress of Vaccine Inoculation, which has been eagerly adopted by every civilized nation of the globe, and in consequence of which many large and populous districts have been completely freed from the ravages of the Small-pox; notwithstanding the very flattering sanction it has received from the British Legislature, who have been induced, after the fullest and most satisfactory proofs of its efficacy, to award £20,000 to Dr. JENNER for the discovery, in addition to £10,000 formerly granted to him. It is extraordinary and lamentable to observe, that the Small-pox is still suffered to be propagated by Inoculation, which tends to disseminate the disease by casual infection, so that at present, in London alone, twenty-five persons a week die of that disease, and the usual annual amount of deaths, according to the London Bills of Mortality, is 2000 at least.”

“There are no means of ascertaining exactly the number of deplorable sufferers, who, though not quite destroyed by the Small-pox, are, nevertheless, grievously afflicted for life, from that loathsome disease: but the number rendered blind, lame, scrofulous, deformed, and disfigured, is immense, and is estimated much below the truth at three times the amount of the deaths.”

“ The account, then, may be fairly stated thus,  
 Deaths in London alone in one year from the Small-pox - - 2000  
 Rendered blind, maimed, or otherwise diseased from the same  
 complaint - - - - - 6000

Total Sufferers from the Small-Pox in one year 8000

“ Now, according to the most authentic documents that can be procured, and those documents furnished by men who do not appear to be by any means prejudiced in favour of Vaccination, namely, the returns of 164,381 persons vaccinated, made to the Royal College of Surgeons; it appears,

That 24 persons, or 1 in 6849 have had inflamed arms.

That 3 persons, or 1 in 54,793, have died of such inflamed arms.

That 66 persons, or 1 in 2477, have had eruptions after the Cow-pock.

And that 56 persons, or 1 in 2917, have had the Small-pox afterwards.

“ It ought to be stated, that I have chosen these returns made to the College of Surgeons, because they give the *most unfavourable average* of any that I have seen; according to all other accounts the accidents that can be imputed to Vaccination, are very considerably fewer.”

“ Admitting, however, the truth of the premises, that such has been the number of accidents in consequence of Vaccination, it is evident, that had the 8000 unfortunate sufferers from the Small-pox, above alluded to, been vaccinated,

1 only would have had an inflamed arm.

2 would have had eruptions afterwards.

and 2 might still have been liable to the Small-pox.

6 Sufferers from Vaccination out of 8000.

“ Thus, instead of two thousand persons, killed by the Small-pox, and six thousand rendered miserable for life, not a single death would have happened, and *only six* persons could, in any respect, have been rendered uneasy or dissatisfied; and it is universally acknowledged, that such accidents are less likely to occur now than formerly, on

account of the improved method of vaccinating generally adopted."

"It appears then, that in a given number of cases, the advantages of the Cow-pox over the Small-pox is as 8000 to 6, consequently those who submit to the process of Vaccination have *upwards of thirteen hundred chances to one in their favour.*"

"With such convincing proof before their eyes, it cannot too much be regretted, that any people should *so weakly and wickedly* sacrifice their own, their children's, and their neighbours' lives, to a silly and absurd prejudice; a prejudice arising either from misrepresentation or want of due inquiry, both of which are highly censurable, when the lives of our fellow-creatures are at stake."

"Would those who refuse to admit Vaccination into their families, take the trouble of investigating the facts which are well-known, respecting the casual and the inoculated Small-Pox, and compare them with the well-established facts which are known respecting the Cow-Pock, they could hardly fail to be convinced of the great superiority of Vaccination; for they would then learn,

That 1 in 6 dies of the Natural Small-pox.

That 3 in 6 are deformed, or otherwise diseased for life, by the Natural Small-pox.

That 1 in 100 dies of the Inoculated Small-pox.

That 3 in 100 are deformed, or otherwise diseased for life, by the Inoculated Small-pox.

while not 1 in 1300 suffers in consequence of Vaccination, even according to the most unfavourable statement."

"They ought likewise to take into the account, that from every child inoculated for the small-pox, there is great danger of spreading the disease by casual infection. Of this numerous proofs are recorded; but I shall content myself with mentioning one, which was published before the introduction of the cow-pock, and which consequently

could not have been published to serve any sinister purpose."

"The child of some poor parents, residing in a court, was inoculated for the small-pox; from this child *seventeen* other persons caught the small-pox, and *eight* of those seventeen died of that horrible disease."

"Let every parent reflect upon this melancholy relation, and tremble for the consequences which may ensue from having their children inoculated with the small-pox, and the still more lamentable ones which will ensue from the casual infection: while at the same time, Vaccination offers a safe, easy, and effectual security."

S. M.

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### No. III.

The following calculation by Mr. Dawson, an eminent mathematician, made 30 years ago, will enable every one to appreciate the beneficial effects on population, which would ensue from the suppressing of the contagion of Small-pox. Mr. Dawson says,

"Upon a supposition, that among 8,000,000 of people, the mortality of the Small-pox was in the same proportion as in Liverpool, Manchester, and Chester, there would annually die near 38,941 of this distemper. But, to make the calculation more easy, I have supposed 30,000 or 35,000 to enter annually at three years of age, and the decrements of life to be equable, the extent being 86 years. The reason of diminishing the number from 38,941 to 30,000 or 35,000<sup>th</sup> is, because a certain proportion of those who die of the Small-pox before three years of age, would, if this distemper were exterminated,



die of other diseases. The allowance, I am sensible, is too great, and the extent of life supposed too short; upon both which accounts, the numbers given below are less than they ought to be, but surely sufficient to show our Rulers the amazing importance of such a measure.

<i>Period of Years</i>	<i>Incr. of Inhabts. if 30,000 die.</i>	<i>Incr. of Inhabts. if 35,000 die.</i>
10	281,922	328,909
20	527,694	615,643
30	757,322	860,209
40	910,800	1,062,600
50	1,048,146	1,222,837
60	1,149,342	1,340,899

“ These are large numbers, and yet I am confident, considerably short of what they ought to be.”

THE END.

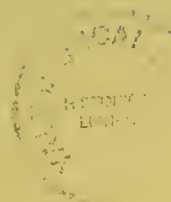
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